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THE

LIFE

OF

FREDERICK THE SECOND

KING OF PRUSSIA

BY LORD DOVER

IN TWO VOLUMES.
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A. L. FOWLE
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FREDERIC was now upon the point of taking the field, and thereby anticipating the designs of his enemies; being of opinion, as he wrote himself to the King of England, that it was more prudent *prævenire quam præveniri.** Before, however, he did so, he published at Berlin "A Declaration of the motives which have obliged his majesty the King of Prussia to prevent the designs of the court of Vienna." In this document Frederic inveighed against the ambition of the empress-queen, and dwelt much upon her secret designs against the independence of the princes of the empire. He also declared that the liberties of the Germanic body should only be buried in the same grave with Prussia; and concluded by calling

* Memoirs by Horace Walpole Earl of Orford.

Heaven to witness, that having sought for peace in vain by every means in his power, he was at length forced to take up arms in order to dissipate a conspiracy which had been formed against his possessions and his crown.*

One evening at a great supper the King of Prussia whispered to Mitchell, the English minister at Berlin, that he wished him to come to him at three o'clock on the following morning. When he arrived he carried him to his camp, and told him that there were in it a hundred thousand men setting out at that instant they knew not whither; and bade him write to his master that he was going to defend his majesty's dominions and his own.† At the same time he ordered his envoy at the court of Dresden to demand a passage for the Prussian troops, which were on their march towards Bohemia, through the electorate of Saxony. The feeble King of Poland remonstrated at this demand, but as he had not a sufficient force on foot to resist it, his remonstrances were not attended to. It was peculiarly necessary for the views of Frederic not only to obtain a passage for his troops through Saxony, but also to retain the command of that country, the rulers of which he was well aware were thoroughly ill-disposed towards him, and would therefore take the first opportunity of cutting off his retreat, should his Bohemian expedition prove unsuccessful.

While the King of Poland was formalizing respecting the terms upon which the Prussian monarch was to pass through his dominions, the latter had actually entered them at the head of a large army. This he divided into three separate corps, which were to march by different roads, and rendezvous near Dresden.‡ The right wing, commanded by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, took its route from Magdeburg,

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.
† Memoirs by Horace Walpole Earl of Orford.
‡ Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

by Halle, Leipsic, and Freyberg; the centre, which was conducted by the king in person, marched along the left side of the Elbe, by Wittemberg, Torgau, and Meissen; and the left wing, led by the Duke of Bevern, marched from the neighbourhood of Frankfort on the Oder, through Lusatia, along the right bank of the Elbe. These different bodies of men set out on their march on the 29th of August,* and found themselves reunited in the neighbourhood of Dresden on the 6th of September. During his march Frederic disseminated copies of a manifesto to the same effect as his former declaration.†

At the same time with the king's invasion of Saxony, Marshal Schwerin, who had the command of the army of Silesia, had received orders to penetrate into Bohemia by the circle of Kœnigsgratz.‡ This bold and able veteran appears to have been animated with all the fire of a young soldier; at least, such are the sentiments which breathe through the following letter, written only a few months before this time; in which he feelingly laments the prospect of his not having any opportunity of serving another campaign. Fate, however, reserved for him that which he desired, and awarded to him, besides, a glorious death upon the field of honour. The letter is addressed to Marshal Keith, between whom and himself a most affectionate friendship appears to have existed, and is dated Frankfort on the Oder, 17th April, 1756.

"In answer, my dear marshal, to the letter of the 10th with which you have honoured me, I must tell you that I have decided upon not going to drink the waters at Carlsbad this year. I think at my age it is hardly worth the trouble or expense for me to make this journey, though I have always found they

* 1756.
† Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II.
‡ Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

did me good, and that certain rheumatisms I have contracted during the last hard winter rather require such a step. As the war no longer appears to me near at hand, I begin to despair of having an opportunity of making another campaign, though my wish for it is so great. For at the age of seventy-two, and after fifty-six years of service, one cannot reasonably count much longer upon one's self; and the campaigns, which in our service we must look to, above all when one prefers one's duty to one's ease, demand a vigorous state of health.

* * * * * * * *

"I remain

"Your excellency's very humble and obedient serv't.

"C. DE SCHWERIN."

He writes again to Marshal Keith on the 21st of August, 1756, having just taken the command of the troops destined to serve under him, and who were established at Neisse in Silesia:—"I entreat you to send me from time to time, when your military operations may permit it, any welcome news of yourself; and I will send you mine in return. I must expect to meet with enemies superior to me in strength: God will assist me to resist their attacks; and I trust always to do my duty to sustain the glory of the king's troops, and to die like a brave man. Adieu."

On the 3d of September, writing still from Neisse, he thus describes his own situation and that of the army opposed to him, which was commanded by Piccolomini, an Italian officer of merit in the Austrian service:—"I am now occupied in collecting the troops in this neighbourhood; and in this position I shall wait for the king's orders, and see what countenance the Austrians will put on when they hear the unexpected news of our master's enterprise. Thus far they appear to me not quite to know what steps to take; and the almost daily variations in the posi-

tions they occupy seem to indicate that they have not yet made up their minds upon the plan of their future operations."*

As the King of Prussia advanced in his march towards Dresden, the fears of the court of the King of Poland, and especially of his minister Count Brühl, who knew himself to be peculiarly obnoxious to Frederic, redoubled. It was at length determined to collect all the troops that could be got together, amounting to about 12,000 men, and to fix them in the strong natural camp of Pirna. "Pirna," to use the words of the King of Prussia, "is a position which nature has taken pleasure to form into a sort of fortress, to the strength of which art can add nothing. On the east side of this position the Elbe flows between rocks which, by contracting its bed, make the stream more rapid. The right of the Saxon army was defended by the little fortress of Sonnenstein, near the Elbe. In the valley at the foot of these rocks is placed the town of Pirna, from which the camp takes its name. The front towards the north extends to the hill of Kohlberg, which makes a sort of bastion to the fortification; and before which there is a ravine nearly eighty feet deep, which is continued to the left, and thus surrounds the camp and stretches to the fort of Kœnigstein. From the Kohlberg, which forms a sort of angle, a chain of rocks, of which the Saxons occupied the tops, extends towards the west, and only terminates on the bank of the Elbe at Kœnigstein. The Saxons, too feeble in numbers to fill the circle of this camp, which presented on all sides inaccessible rocks, contented themselves with guarding the approaches to it, which, though difficult in themselves, were the only ones by which their position could be attacked. They therefore in those places formed redoubts, and placed palisades and chevaux-de-frises, for which they had

* These extracts are from the MS. Correspondence of Marshal Keith.

plentiful materials in the immense forests of pines with which the summits of the mountains are covered. This camp, one of the very strongest in Europe, having been examined in detail, was decided to be impregnable; and as therefore famine could alone vanquish so many obstacles, it was resolved to blockade it strictly, and to prevent the Saxon troops from receiving provisions from the neighbourhood."* This blockade the King of Prussia put into execution immediately after he had taken possession of Dresden.

This latter event, which took place without any resistance on the part of the Saxons, occurred on the 10th of September. Frederic assumed the name of Protector of Saxony; and the people of Dresd n seemed well-disposed to receive him as such.† Being themselves rigid Protestants, they were offended with the Catholic bigotry of their own court; while Frederic's attendance at the Protestant church gained him all hearts: and these feelings were confirmed by the winning manners of the king and the exact discipline of his troops.‡ In conformity with these feelings on the part of the Saxons, almost all the principal persons of the country, as well as the magistrates of the town, attended the King of Prussia's levees, and all were well received. The king kep an open table, to which many of the Saxons were invited. He also sent the civilest messages to the royal family, who in return asked him to dinner, and offered him the use of their chamberlains to attend upon him. He, however, declined profiting by these offers.§

In the mean while, however, the King of Prussia neglected nothing which might make his possession of Saxony as advantageous to himself as possible. He took from the arsenal all the artillery, and sent it

* Frederic II., Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans
‡ Memoirs by Horace Walpole Earl of Orford
§ Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

to Magdeburg; and seized upon all those portions of the electoral revenues which were found to be in the hands of the tax-gatherers. He also strictly forbade any intercourse to be held between the capital and the camp of Pirna. One cart alone was permitted to pass daily to the latter place, which contained the provisions destined for the table of the King of Poland.

It was important for the King of Prussia to obtain possession of the original state papers, of which he already possessed copies, proving the treachery practised towards him by the court of Saxony. He therefore sent Marshal Keith to the archives in the palace to seize them; but here the marshal met with an unexpected obstacle. The Queen of Poland* had not accompanied her husband to the camp of Pirna, but had remained behind at Dresden; and having been made aware of the intentions of Keith, determined to oppose them by every means in her power.† The measure she adopted to effect her end was that of intimidation. She told him that nothing but force should enable him to obtain possession of the papers in question: and observed to him, that as his master had given out that he would use no violence, all Europe would exclaim against the outrage; "and then," added she, "*you* will be the victim: depend upon it, your king is a man to sacrifice you to his own honour."‡ These expostulations and threats had so much effect upon the marshal that he sent for further orders, which were readily granted to him. He then possessed himself of the desired documents, though the queen persisted long in sitting on the trunk containing the most material ones, and could only be prevailed upon to rise when she was at length con-

* Maria Josepha of Austria, eldest daughter of the Emperor Joseph I Sir Charles Hanbury Williams says of her, "She is ugly beyond painting and malicious beyond expression."

† Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV.

‡ Memoirs by Horace Walpole Earl of Orford.

vinced that force would be resorted to to compel her.

No sooner were these papers in the possession of Frederic than he had them published in his own justification. But though thus successful in obtaining possession of them, the manner in which the Queen of Poland had been treated was more injurious to the Prussian cause than the publication of the Saxon treachery was serviceable to it. This violence exercised towards a crowned head, the cruelty of which was exaggerated in all the different courts of Europe by the ministers of the powers hostile to Frederic, did considerable harm to his interests; and this was especially the case in France. The dauphiness there was the daughter of the Queen of Poland; and when she heard of her mother's treatment, she fell at the feet of her father-in-law, Lewis the Fifteenth, and implored for justice and revenge. This conduct produced an instantaneous effect. All other considerations were forgotten at Versailles, and France began to take an active part in a war which was really so contrary to her true interests.*

At the same time that Frederic was thus taking possession of Dresden, contributions had been levied by his troops upon the city of Leipsic.† The magistrates remonstrated, but in vain; they were put in prison, and thus compelled to pay what was required of them: and subsequently were obliged, during the whole of the Prussian occupation of Saxony, to pay all tolls, customs, and imposts to receivers appointed by his Prussian majesty. This was also the case throughout all the electoral dominions of the King of Poland; and as Frederic maintained himself in possession of them during the whole of the war we are now treating of, it may easily be conceived what great pecuniary succours he must have drawn from them ‡

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV.
‡ Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

In order also to make the revenues of Saxony more available for his purposes, Frederic caused a general revision to be made of the salaries of the various Saxon functionaries, which were universally curtailed. Thus, at the court of Dresden there existed two persons of great consideration and importance in their different ways,—the confessor of the queen and the director of the opera. The former received a salary of 12,000 crowns, the latter of 15,000. Frederic reduced them to 2000 crowns apiece. He also directed the prodigious quantities of Dresden china, which were kept both at Dresden and Meissen, to be sold. He scrupulously abstained, however, from touching any thing in the royal palace, or in the magnificent picture gallery attached to it; though he was accustomed to pay frequent visits to the latter, for the purpose of admiring the treasures of art contained within its walls. He did not, however, extend his protection to the palace of Count Brühl, to whom he bore a peculiar antipathy. The house and gardens of that minister suffered severely during the Prussian occupation of Dresden.* It was, undoubtedly, a master-stroke of policy and decision thus to turn the resources of an enemy against himself; and if we wish to find an ample justification of the measure, we have only to look at the terrific league which was now formed for the express purpose of annihilating Frederic and his kingdom.†

In order to assure the continued possession of the electorate of Saxony to his troops, the King of Prussia proceeded to fortify the town of Torgau. He placed in it the cannons which he had taken from the other towns of Saxony; and obliged the inhabitants and the neighbouring peasants,—paying them, however, for their labour,—to assist in forming the works. At Torgau the military chest was

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans. † *Ibid.*

deposited; the commissariat of the Prussian army was also established there; and the contributions of the neighbouring country were received and appropriated.*

When intelligence reached Vienna of the occupation of Saxony by Frederic, the Aulic Council of the emperor declared him a disturber of the public peace, and a rebel. "It was, however," as Voltaire observes, "difficult to make this declaration effectual against a prince who had nearly 150,000 soldiers at his orders, and who already passed for the greatest general in Europe. He answered the sentence of the Aulic Council by a battle, which took place between him and the Austrian army, which he had gone in pursuit of to the frontiers of Bohemia, near a village called Lowositz."†

The Austrians had collected and put in motion two armies; the larger one, consisting of 60,000 men, and commanded by Field-marshal Braun, assembled near Kolin in Bohemia; the smaller one, of 20,000, under the command of Piccolomini, was stationed in Moravia, and, as has been before mentioned, was opposed to that of Marshal Schwerin.‡ Upon hearing of the advance of Braun and his troops, whose object was the relief of the Saxon camp at Pirna, Frederic confided the blockade to the Margrave Charles of Brandenburgh, and advanced with 24,000 troops, which had previously been confided to the command of Marshal Keith as an army of observation, across the frontier of Bohemia, in order to arrest their progress. He came in sight of the enemies, encamped in the plain of Lowositz, on the last day of September. The next morning the village of Lowositz, and the sur-

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

† Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV.

‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.—Archenholz. Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.—Grimoard, Tableau du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

rounding objects, to use the words of Frederic, "were seen as through a crape," in consequence of a heavy fog. This, however, did not prevent the King of Prussia from ranging his army in battle array, between the heights of Lobosch and Radositz. Braun, on the other hand, placed his troops, so that on their right they extended to Lowositz, and on the left stretched into the plain as far as Tzischowitz.

The encounter commenced by the left wing of the Prussian army driving the Austrian pandours from the vineyards about Lowositz, in which they had posted themselves. Frederic allows himself that he imagined the Austrians intended to retreat, and that they had, with this view, placed the light troops about Lowositz in order to occupy the Prussians, and prevent their following them. When, however, about eleven o'clock, the fog cleared off, he discovered his error. The Prussian heavy artillery had been for some time previously cannonading the Austrian cavalry, under the impression that it was only the rear-guard of the retreating army. Frederic, also, still with the notion of having to do only with a rear-guard, had made his cavalry form at the foot of the hill, and then charge that of the enemy, who were thrown into disorder by the impetus of the shock. As, however, the Prussians advanced in their pursuit, they found both their flanks exposed to the fire of the Austrian batteries; and were obliged, in consequence, to retire to their original position. This convinced the king that the whole army of Braun was opposed to him. Before, however, he could decide in his mind what step to take, the gallantry of his cavalry had urged them to make another charge, in which they were again successful. So great was their impetuosity, that having overthrown all obstacles to their course, and regardless of the batteries which played upon them, they advanced till they found themselves stopped by a vast ditch, which protected the imperial in-

fantry. Here they were met by the fire of sixty pieces of cannon, which forced them to return to their position at the foot of the hill. This, however, they did in good order, and without being pursued.

Marshal Braun, now finding that the onset of the Prussians was likely to become general, determined to forestal them, and to make the attack himself with part of his infantry. With this view he despatched twenty battalions, who took their way behind the village of Lowositz, and so along the Elbe, till they were enabled to join the pandours, who still kept up an unequal contest in some parts of the vineyards. They then fell upon the Prussian left wing; by whom, however, they were so warmly received, that they were obliged to retreat from vineyard to vineyard; till at length, being compelled to descend into the plain, where they were pursued by the Prussians, some of the battalions were driven into the Elbe. A part also of the Austrian infantry retired into Lowositz, and taking possession of the houses, prepared to defend them.

When intelligence of this movement was brought to the King of Prussia, he sent a detachment from his right wing to reinforce the left. These attacked the village, the possession of which was vigorously contested; but at length the valour of the Prussians overcame all obstacles. Having used all their ammunition, they charged with fixed bayonets into the place, and succeeded in driving from it the troops who had taken possession of it; as well as nine fresh battalions who had been sent to their assistance by Braun. This advantage concluded the battle. The left wing of the Austrians was so posted as not to be attackable by the Prussian troops; and Braun, by a judicious movement of his troops, succeeded in covering his flying battalions from any lengthened pursuit. Night now came on, and Braun retreated across the Eger, destroying the bridges as he passed;

and reoccupied his former camp of Budin. The King of Prussia passed the night on the field of battle.*

The first intelligence of this battle which reached Berlin was conveyed in a note from Frederic to his mother, the queen-dowager, which contained only the following words:—"October 1st. This day I gave battle to the Austrians. Great generalship was displayed on both sides, and the fate of the day was doubtful for some hours; but at last it pleased God to give us the victory." Marshal Keith, who commanded under the king in this action distinguished himself greatly; as did also Lieutenant-general Kleist, who, though suffering under wounds, of which he afterward died, refused to quit his horse till the event of the day was decided.†

It is related of a common soldier, on this occasion, that being mortally wounded, and in the agonies of death, he asked whether the king was safe, and how the battle went? Being answered that the king was well, and the battle won, he said, "Now, then, it is a pleasure to die;" and so expired.

The combat of Lowositz can, however, hardly be reckoned among the Prussian victories, as the loss of the two armies was so very nearly equal; that of the Prussians being 3200 killed and wounded, and of the Austrians 3000, in addition to which the latter lost four pieces of cannon and three standards; hardly any prisoners being taken on either side. And yet, if we judge of this battle by its effects, we shall undoubtedly be inclined to give the palm of success to the Prussians; for it was to it exclusively that the subsequent capitulation of the Saxons at Pirna was owing.

From the moment the battle of Lowositz had taken place, the whole attention of Frederic was directed to preventing the Austrians from approach-

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
† Towers' Memoirs of Frederic III

ing the Saxon camp.* With this intention, he extended his post along the whole line of country by which Braun could possibly attempt to march to their relief; and even employed a part of his army in Bohemia for the same purpose. The imperial general, after one or two vain attempts to join the Saxons, gave up the attempt; and it was then determined that the Saxons should leave their intrenchments, which were now, from the famine which raged among them, become almost untenable, and endeavour to force their way through the Prussian troops; while, at the same moment, the imperial army was to advance to meet them. This project was intended to take effect on the 11th of October, but the heavy rains which fell on that day obliged the allies to defer the execution of it till the following one.†

Frederic employed this time in strengthening his posts upon the Elbe. On the 12th the Saxons commenced their march. It was arranged that they should pass the river Eger below Kœnigstein, and afterward the Elbe, having first driven off the Prussians who guarded it; while a simultaneous attack from Braun, on the other side of the river, was to operate as a diversion upon the Prussians, who would thus be obliged to defend their front and rear at the same moment. Various obstacles, however, opposed themselves to the success of this plan. The ground on the right bank of the Elbe consists of high mountains, intersected by deep narrow ravines, full of holes and quagmires, and therefore exceedingly unfavourable to the march of an army: especially when, as in the present instance, these passages were defended by hostile troops. At length, after severe sufferings, and the labour of constructing a bridge, which occupied many hours, the Saxons succeeded in crossing the Elbe; but they

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans

did it at the expense of the loss of the heavy artillery, the bridge having broken under it. They then attempted to form into some order at the foot of the mountain called the Lilienstein; but so narrow was the space that they were unable to succeed in this, but were obliged to encamp themselves, as they could, in a confused manner. Here another disappointment awaited their leader Count Rutowsky, in the intelligence he received that Marshal Braun had failed in his attempt to effect a junction with them. Braun had advanced towards Schandau, where, meeting with the Prussian detachment under the command of General Lestewitz, whose position he found it impossible to force, and being, besides, ignorant of the country through which he had to penetrate, he had been obliged to retire towards Bohemia, after sustaining some loss.*

Meanwhile the Prussians had taken possession of the camp the Saxons had abandoned, and, pursuing the fugitive army, took prisoners the rear-guard, and obtained possession of their baggage and artillery.

The King of Poland had retreated into the fortress of Kœnigstein; where, attended only by two soldiers of his guards, and a few of his courtiers, he awaited the decision of the victor. His army, at the same time, encamped under the Lilienstein, was suffering all the horrors of famine, without tents or baggage, or even ammunition. Under these circumstances, a capitulation was all that remained for them; and to obtain by it whatever terms the conqueror, in his mercy, might think proper to allow. Accordingly, negotiations were opened, with the consent of Augustus, who was himself most anxious to escape into Poland. Frederic had taken up his residence at Struppen (where, during the occupation of the camp of Pirna by the Saxons, the head-quar-

* Grimoard, Tableau du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

iers of the King of Poland had been placed), from whence he dictated the terms of the capitulation By these the officers recovered their liberty, upon their promise of not serving again against the Prussians during the course of the present war; but the whole of the rest of the army were obliged to take the oath of allegiance to Frederic, and were either formed at once into regiments with Prussian colours, or incorporated in the regiments already existing of that army.

This proceeding did not, however, prove so advantageous to the Prussian cause as had been hoped; for so steady was the attachment of the Saxons to their unfortunate sovereign and country, that the greater part of the troops thus amalgamated found means to desert in a very short time, and hastened to rejoin Augustus in Poland.* To this step they were also much incited by the emissaries of the Queen of Poland, who, as has been before mentioned, had remained at Dresden. Her conduct in thus endeavouring to recover for her husband the army of which he had been forcibly deprived was neither surprising nor blameable; but the same can hardly be said of the encouragement and persuasions she used to induce the officers, who had been released upon engaging not to serve again against the Prussians during the war, to break their promises, in which she was in many instances but too successful.†

Augustus begged hard to have his guards restored to him, who were one of the finest corps in Europe; but Frederic replied, in the most insulting manner, "that if he consented, the Saxon guards would undoubtedly serve against him again, and that he did not choose to have the trouble of taking them a second time."‡ This harsh conduct towards a fallen

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
‡ Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV.

sovereign would appear, at first sight, unparbonable, but when we reflect upon the knowledge Frederic had of the bitter hostility ever entertained towards him by the Saxon government, and consider that he was also aware that, at this very moment, a secret treaty was concluding between it and the empress-queen, by which an engagement was entered into to furnish the latter with four regiments of dragoons and two of hulans, we cannot be astonished that he should have been anxious to prevent its having any further power of doing him harm. Where these matters were not in question, he endeavoured to show civility to the Polish sovereign; sending him back all the standards, arms, &c. which had belonged to his troops; and offering him post-horses and an escort to conduct him and his suite to Warsaw. This latter offer partook undoubtedly, in some degree, of insulting politeness; but at the same time was one which the state of Augustus's affairs obliged him most eagerly to accept of. The whole of this strange transaction, the only one of a military nature which took place between the Prussians and Saxons during the course of the seven years' war, concluded with the following letter from Frederic to Augustus:—

"Struppen, 18th of October, 1756.

Sir, and my Brother,

"Since our affairs are now arranged, and that your majesty appears so anxious for your departure towards Poland, I have given, without delay, all the orders which you requested me, by the Major Zechwiz, to give; and I now, with all my heart, wish you a happy journey. It will depend entirely upon your majesty's own wishes to choose what road you are pleased to take; and if your majesty prefers not meeting any of my troops by the way, you have only to mention it to the Baron de Sporcken, in order that I may have them removed, according

to your wishes. I cannot conclude without the most sincere assurances that, in spite of what I have found myself compelled to do in the present conjuncture of affairs, I shall ever feel a most perfect friendship for your majesty; in proof of which I shall seize every opportunity of testifying to you, as well as to your royal family, how great is the interest I take in your happiness and prosperity. In the mean while I shall always remain, with sentiments of the most distinguished esteem and the most perfect consideration,

"Sir,
"of your majesty
"the faithful brother,
"FREDERIC."*

The King of Prussia's next step was, the taking possession of the whole of the King of Poland's electoral dominions, with the exception of the impregnable fortress of Kœnigstein, to which he accorded neutrality during the war. He established himself for the winter at Dresden, and began to treat the electorate,—which he professed, notwithstanding, to consider as only under his protection,—as a conquered country. He transacted business constantly with the Saxon ministers; informed himself of all the details of administration; and went so far as to demand of the states a reinforcement of 10,000 men for his army.†

At the same time that the troops of the King of Prussia established themselves in their winter-quarters in Saxony, those under the command of Marshal Schwerin retired from their position near Kœnigsgratz into Silesia. The marshal had been obliged to continue, during the whole campaign in a state of inactivity, in consequence of the determination of Piccolomini, who was opposed to him, not to risk a

* Vie de Frederic II.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

battle. A few partial skirmishes only took place, which were, for the most part, to the advantage of the Prussians.* The following letter from Marshal Schwerin to Marshal Keith will best explain the state of affairs in this part of the theatre of war towards the close of the campaign. It is dated from the quarter-general at Augerd, 18th October, 1756.

"Sir,

"I have duly received the letter which your excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 4th of this month, and return you many thanks for the relation you are good enough to make to me in it of the glorious day of the 1st of October.† I hope my congratulations upon this subject have already reached your excellency, and that you will believe in the interest I take in an event which you had so considerable a part in.

As my neighbour Piccolomini keeps himself closely shut up in his camp, in which he has intrenched himself to the teeth, he affords but rarely a slight occupation to my hussars. Lieutenant-colonel Werner, of the regiment of Wethmar, whom I sent on the 16th to their rear, routed, with the 250 hussars he had with him, a party of 400 dragoons and fifty hussars. He pursued them beyond Reichenau, and obliging them to pass over the bridge of the fortress, he forced a considerable number into the fossé, killed a good many more, and took some prisoners. On the other side, the Major Bajar, of the hussars of Wethmar, whom I had sent out to clear the frontier of pandours and hussars, who infested the neighbourhood of Frankenstein, detached a lieutenant with fifty horsemen to scour the country. These met, during the night of the 14th and 15th, a party of sixty Austrian hussars, and fell upon them,

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
† The battle of Lowositz.

without regarding a triple discharge from their carbines and pistols, with their sabres killed many, and brought off ten men and eleven horses prisoners. We lost twelve horses in these skirmishes, and had about as many men wounded, but none killed; except, indeed, Lieutenant Roschenbar be so, respecting whom we do not yet know whether he is killed or taken prisoner.

"I trust, my dear marshal, that you may have an uninterrupted continuance of happy events and great successes.

"I remain, with sentiments of the highest consideration,

"Your excellency's very humble,

"and very obedient servant,

"C. DE SCHWERIN."*

Shortly after writing this letter, Schwerin set out on his march towards Silesia. He was followed by some thousands of Hungarians, who were troublesome to his rear-guard. The marshal, who was not enduring of such attacks, put himself at the head of a part of his cavalry, fell upon the enemy, defeated them and, having pursued them a considerable distance, resumed his march, which was no more interrupted.†

* From the MS. Correspondence of Field-marshal Keith.

† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

CHAPTER II.

Indisposition of France towards Prussia—War declared against Prussia by France, Sweden, and Russia—Army of the Empire—The King of England unfriendly to Frederic—Attempt to poison Frederic—Queen of Poland's Intrigues—The Forces of the Confederates take the Field—Frederic enters Bohemia—Skirmishes—Battle of Prague—Death of Marshal Schwerin—Austrian Army in Prague—Bombardment of Prague—Battle of Kolin—Death of Frederic's Mother—Confederacy against Prussia—Frederic's Letter to the Marquis D'Argens.

The winter of 1756–1757 was occupied by the contending parties in great preparations for the ensuing campaign. The invasion of Saxony by the Prussians had caused an unusual sensation in Europe. Several courts were not aware of the reasons which had led to it; others affected not to know them, in order to blame the more strongly the conduct of the King of Prussia. The King of Poland made complaints of the Prussian violence; and his ambassadors exaggerated the sufferings of Saxony. These clamours were re-echoed at Versailles, at Petersburg, and throughout Europe. The King of France was already piqued at the preference shown by the King of Prussia to the English alliance. At the same time, the emissaries of Austria were engaged in exciting the people of France to regard with complacency a German war; while the tears of the dauphiness for the fate of her parents were made use of to move Lewis to take vengeance upon the invaders of her native country. Thus solicited, the King of France determined upon sending an army into Germany, and only suspended the execution of this resolution in order to give it the colour of a natural and plausible pretext.*

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

M. de Broglio, ambassador from France in Saxony, received orders to furnish this by giving occasion to the Prussians to insult him in his diplomatic capacity The commission with which he was thus charged was the occasion of his singular conduct while the Saxons were blockaded at Pirna. He remained at Dresden, and affected to wish several times to pay visits to the King of Poland at Struppen. He tried to force the Prussian soldiers employed in the blockade, in order to occasion their resisting him with violence. He endeavoured, without success, to pass the chain of sentinels: they opposed to him, whenever he made the attempt, so much politeness, united with so much firmness, that he could neither get to the King of Poland, nor find a pretext, however slight, to enable the government of France to quarrel with Prussia. This irritated the court of Versailles, who, without further delay or circumlocution, sent away from Paris M. de Knyphausen, the Prussian plenipotentiary, and recalled M. de Valori, who exercised the same office from France at Berlin. These measures obliged the King of Prussia, when he returned from Bohemia to Dresden, to signify to M. de Broglio, that in the present state of the relations between the two countries it was no longer proper for a French ambassador to be a resident in the same town with himself. Broglio received this intimation with considerable haughtiness, but was not the less immediately compelled to obey it, and to commence his journey to Warsaw.

Every circumstance at this moment concurred to plunge France into the war with Prussia, and to make her a principal actor in the bloody scenes which were about to take place in Germany. In addition to those already enumerated, the elevation of the Abbé de Bernis, the author of the Austrian alliance, to the post of minister for foreign affairs, was not the least important. While to this must be added, that, partly from the successful intrigues of

the imperial emissaries, and partly from the love of novelty in a people greedy of change, the union with Austria had become exceedingly popular throughout France. The consequence of all these things was, that instead of France supplying to the empress-queen, as she was obliged by the treaty, an auxiliary force of 24,000 men, she sent an army amounting to 100,000 across the Rhine early in the spring. Not content, also, with her own exertions, she incited the senate of Sweden, over whom she had great power, to enter into the coalition against Prussia; in spite of the ties of blood and friendship which united the sovereign of that country to Frederic. In vain Adolphus Frederic II. and his queen Ulrica, sister of the Prussian monarch, endeavoured to prevent such a decision. The senate of Sweden was at this time all-powerful, and was ruled by the faction of the "*Hats*,"* who were devoted to France and Russia. An army of Swedes, in consequence, took the field against Prussia in the month of March of this year.†

Nor were the insinuations of the imperial negotiators against Prussia less successful at Petersburg than they had been at Versailles. The natural dislike of the Empress Elizabeth for the King of Prussia was a good foundation for them to work upon; but their most efficacious argument was the promise of a subsidy of 2,000,000 of crowns. This was the identical sum paid over by France to Austria, according to the stipulations of the treaty between these two powers; and Austria, by transferring it to Russia, induced the latter court to declare war against Prussia.‡

Meanwhile the ministers of the empress-queen at

* The senate of Sweden was divided between the parties called "The Hats" and "The Caps," who successively, for many years, ruled or rather misruled, both king and country; till Gustavus the Third re-established the royal authority in 1772.

† L'Art de verifier les Dates.

‡ Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

Ratisbon excited the imperial diet to take a part in the approaching contest. In this they were supported by the French agents, whose menaces so intimidated that assembly that they consented to whatever was demanded of them. It was in consequence decided, that the empire should raise an army to act against the Prussian monarch; and that the command of this force should be intrusted to the Prince of Hildbourghausen, who was also a field-marshal in the Austrian service. It was even proposed by the party of the empress-queen that the Kings of Prussia and England should be placed under the ban of the empire. To this it was replied by others, that though formerly the Elector of Bavaria had incurred this censure, it was not till he had been defeated in the battle of Blenheim; and that, therefore, it might be wiser to wait till the army of the empire had obtained a similar victory over the sovereigns in question.* What, however, prevented this rash step from being taken was the representations of the court of France, who felt that such an unusual measure might greatly compromise the dignity of all those who were parties to it.

When the army of the empire began to collect, it presented something of the appearance which must have belonged to the uncouth assemblages of the early crusaders. With the exception of the contingents of Bavaria, the palatinate, Wirtemberg, and one or two other of the more considerable states, the rest was an undisciplined multitude of all kinds and all colours. Peasants had been suddenly transformed into captains with tattered uniforms; while from the ecclesiastical electorates the contingents were principally furnished from the menials of the convents, who were mounted on cart-horses, and denominated dragoons.†

The difficulties of the King of Prussia were much

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

augmented by the little concert which reigned at present between him and his ally the King of England. The latter, whose whole soul was absorbed in the protection of his electorate, could not comprehend or approve of the great and able plans of Frederic, who was therefore obliged to narrow them to suit the genius of his ally. The King of Prussia had wished to defend Wesel against the French, and by occupying them with the attack of that fortress, to give himself time to advance against them. The Hanoverian ministers of George, in whom he had the most implicit confidence, were, however, of opinion that Wesel should be abandoned, and that only the course of the Weser should be defended. It was in vain that the King of Prussia represented the impossibility of guarding the Weser; a river almost everywhere fordable, and of which the western bank, from its height, completely commanded the eastern one. He was obliged to submit; to destroy the fortifications of Wesel; to withdraw his troops; and to wait patiently for the army which was promised him in the spring, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland.*

During this winter Frederic paid a short visit to his capital, after which he returned again to Dresden, where an attempt was made to poison him. It is not exactly known who of his numerous enemies were the contrivers or abetters of this horrid conspiracy; but they had corrupted a favourite servant named Glasau, who was to be the perpetrator of the crime. The poison was mixed with a cup of chocolate, which was to form the king's breakfast. As Glasau presented it to Frederic, the latter observed his hand tremble, and, on looking at his face, saw marks of evident trouble upon it. He asked him, in a stern voice, what he had done; and the man fell on his knees, and confessed his criminal intentions,

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

at the same time begging for mercy. Frederic, whose great object was that the story should not become known, had Glasau interrogated privately by two or three of his confidential servants, and afterward placed him in solitary confinement at Spandau, where he died. The secret of the whole transaction was so well guarded, that the anecdote never became known till many years after it had taken place.*

In the midst of negotiations, preparations, and alarms, the King of Prussia, at Dresden, appeared only occupied with gaining the hearts of the Saxons by his gayety and good-humour. He gave them frequent balls, masquerades, and concerts; and, at the latter, excited their admiration by his excellent performance on the flute.† These festivities were a little disturbed by the intrigues of the Queen of Poland. This princess was accustomed to send her grand-master, the Count of Questenberg, to compliment the King of Prussia every morning; and hardly a day passed without her volunteering assurances of her friendship for him. At the same time she continued, as was certainly somewhat natural, in constant communication with the Austrian generals, to whom she detailed whatever of the Prussian plans or intentions she was able to discover. Suspicions were excited respecting this correspondence, which, however, continued for a considerable time secret. Orders were at length given that every thing entering the gates of the town should be rigorously searched. A box of black puddings, addressed to the Countess Ogilvy, who held a high post about the queen's person, was in consequence stopped. One of the puddings was cut open, and found to contain letters, with which, in fact, they were all filled.

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.—Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

This discovery rendered the queen more circumspect for the future, but did not stop her correspondence.*

During the winter the Prussian troops who were stationed near Bohemia, in that part of the electorate of Saxony which is called Lusatia, were kept constantly on the alert by the attacks of those corps of Austrians who were placed on the other side of the frontier. In some of these loss was sustained; and as towards the spring reinforcements arrived to the imperial troops from Flanders, Frederic deemed it necessary to support his own with a detachment from Pomerania. From the time of the arrival of the latter in Lusatia, which took place about the middle of March, the enemies became more tranquil, and consequently less troublesome.

It was the anxious wish of the King of Prussia, seeing the gigantic preparations which were making against him, to forestal his enemies, and to commence the campaign before they were entirely ready for his attack. It has been calculated that the armies of the enemies of Frederic which were on foot at the commencement of this campaign, and preparing to march against him, exceeded 700,000 men; while the force which he and his Hanoverian allies could bring into the field only amounted to 260,000. The imperial forces were thus disposed:—Marshal Daun† had posted himself in Moravia, with a view of penetrating into Upper Silesia; Count Kœnigsegg with a body of 20,000 men was destined to enter Lusatia; Marshal Braun, at the head of a great force, intended to march upon Dresden; while the Duke of Aremberg, who was stationed near Egra, was to join Braun, near Dresden, with a powerful reinforce-

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

† Leopold Count Daun was the first Austrian general opposed to Frederic whose military talents appear in any way to have been such as to have rendered him a worthy antagonist of the Prussian monarch. He was of a noble Bohemian family, and was born in 1705. He served first under Prince Eugene, commanded with great distinction through the seven years' war, and died 5th February, 1766

ment. In addition to the armies of Maria Theresa. the troops of the empire, sometimes called the army of the circles, were ready to act. At the same time the Russians, under the command of General Apraxin, were advancing against the kingdom of Prussia. The French with 100,000 men were upon the point of invading Prussian Westphalia; while the Swedes meditated an attack upon the side of Pomerania.*

Under these circumstances the King of Prussia determined upon taking the field in the month of April. He divided his army, amounting to 110,000 men, into four corps, under the command of himself, of the Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau, of the Duke of Bevern, and of Marshal Schwerin; and fearlessly entering the kingdom of Bohemia, marched towards Prague. He had previously endeavoured to deceive the Austrians as to his real intentions, and thus to take them more completely by surprise.† With this view he had not only taken considerable pains respecting the fortifications of Dresden, but had had surveys made of different strong camps in the neighbourhood of that city, in order to induce the belief that he intended the campaign to be one of a defensive nature. These preparations were communicated to the Austrian generals by the Queen of Poland, and they were in consequence not a little surprised when the king's march discovered his objects.‡

But in proportion as Frederic was bent upon commencing the campaign with some brilliant and decisive action, the cabinet of Vienna were anxious to act on the defensive, and thus to give time to all their allies to come into the field. Marshal Braun, therefore—though, as has been before mentioned, at the head of a powerful army,—more powerful, indeed, than that led by the Prussian monarch—made

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.—Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

‡ Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

no attempt to interrupt the advance of the latter. The portion of the Prussian army commanded by the Duke of Bevern encountered, however, that of Count Kœnigsegg, consisting of 20,000 men. The Prussians found them in a strong camp, situated on the side of a large and deep valley near Reichenberg; which, on the right, stretched to the town of Reichenberg, and on the left to the hill of Geskenburg. The duke immediately formed his troops in order of battle. He commenced the attack with his cavalry, while the infantry, passing the stream which ran through the valley, stormed the heights on the left of the Austrians, which were guarded by their troops. The flank of the Austrians being thus turned, their whole force was soon thrown into disorder, and fled with great precipitation. In this action, which afforded so good an augury to the Prussians for the rest of the campaign, the Austrians lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 1280, and the Prussians only 445. The action of Reichenberg was fought on the 21st of April.*

Meanwhile, Marshal Schwerin had passed the Elbe at Kōnigshof, and obliged Kœnigsegg, whom he found posted there after his defeat, to retire to Prague. The marshal, advancing, seized upon some very valuable magazines at Bunzlau, and then joined the troops under the command of the Duke of Bevern. Prince Maurice of Anhalt had already joined his detachment to that commanded by the king in person; and finally, on the morning of the 6th of May, the whole Prussian army reunited before the walls of Prague. Here they found the Austrian army encamped. It was commanded in chief by Prince Charles of Lorraine, the brother of the Emperor Francis, having under him Marshal Braun. Great jealousies are said at this time to have existed between the different imperial com-

* Müller Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

manders. These had prevented their taking advantage of the division of the King of Prussia's army; which would have given them, had they attacked the detachments of it separately on their march through Bohemia, an easy victory. This opportunity being lost, nothing remained but to combat on equal terms.*

The forces of the empress-queen at the battle of Prague, which took place upon the 6th of May, and of which a relation is now about to be given, amounted to about 75,000 men; and those of the Prussians which were actually engaged to 68,000. When Frederic appeared, the Austrian infantry was reposing tranquilly in its camp, and the cavalry was absent foraging. The latter was immediately recalled; and Prince Charles prepared his army to resist the attack of the Prussians. The ground by which the Prussians had to advance against their enemies was very disadvantageous to them, as it consisted of meadows, or rather morasses, in which the soldiers sank up to their knees. They, however, marched on with vigour and determination. At about one o'clock in the afternoon these obstacles were surmounted, and the Prussians were ranged in order of battle. Regardless of the fatigues they had gone through, they rushed upon the Austrians, who received them with a discharge of the whole of their artillery. Frederic had given orders that his soldiers should not fire, but come to close quarters as quickly as possible with fixed bayonets. This they essayed to do, but so tremendous was the destruction occasioned by the Austrian cannon, which mowed down whole ranks at once, that General Fouquet, who commanded them (having replaced General Winterfield, who had been wounded), was obliged unwillingly to retire.†

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Müller Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

Their left flank had been also exposed to the enemy, from the following circumstance. The Prussian cavalry had advanced, with the infantry to support them; but the course of the former had been arrested by the cavalry of the Austrians; and while these were combating the Prussian infantry had continued to advance, and met with the fate which has been before described.* Marshal Schwerin, who had been posted in the rear, at this moment arrived, and seizing one of the standards belonging to his own regiment, which was running away, advanced towards the enemy. He exhorted, he implored the soldiers to return to the charge, crying out at the same time, "He is a coward who refuses to follow me." The Prussian infantry could not resist the persuasions of the heroic veteran; they again rushed forward, and, regardless of the murderous fire of the Austrians, succeeded in obtaining possession of their battery, and turning it against its former possessors. Their success, however, was damped by the fate of Schwerin, who fell, pierced with three balls, and enveloped in the flag which, in his hand, had proved the standard of victory.†

Several Prussian generals followed his brilliant example, charging on foot at the head of their brigades. Among these was the king's brother, Prince Henry, who himself drove the enemies from one of their batteries.‡ Meanwhile, the Prussian cavalry, after an obstinate contest, had completely defeated that of the Austrians; and Frederic, profiting by these advantages, and especially by the advance of the Prussian infantry into the centre of the Austrian lines, pushed forward with the troops he had in reserve through the opening made for them by their brave comrades; and thus divided the

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
† Vie de Frederic II.
‡ Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand

imperial army into two disconnected parts. One of these fled towards Beneschau; and the other, commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine, hastened to shelter itself within the walls of Prague. This latter force amounted to about forty-eight thousand men.*

The victory of Prague cost the Prussians above 3000 men killed on the spot, 8000 wounded, and 1500 taken prisoners; but the real loss of the day on their side was the death of Schwerin; who, from the acknowledgment of all who knew him, was one of the ablest generals of his time; and possessed at the age of seventy-two all the activity, the vigour, and the boldness of youth. Frederic observes, while enumerating the numbers killed in the respective armies, "On our side we had to mourn the death of Marshal Schwerin, whose loss was of more importance to us than that of 10,000 men would have been."†—"His death withered the laurels of a victory bought with such precious blood." After the battle was over, Frederic went to see the body of Schwerin; and he is reported to have wept over it, and to have exclaimed, "I have lost a father in him." The Austrians had 4000 men killed on their side, 4000 wounded, and near 9000 taken prisoners. They lost sixty cannons, eleven standards, their camp, and the military chest. Marshal Braun also was so severely wounded in the engagement, that he shortly afterward died at Prague.‡ The King of Prussia, during the whole of the action, had exposed himself to the hottest of the fire. The battle lasted

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

† This idea of Frederic's of the value of Schwerin's services was not merely one that struck him after the loss of that general; for it is related that on a certain occasion, when Schwerin had been appointed to the command of a particular expedition, and was to have forty thousand men with him, he came to the king to inform him that he could only make out *thirty thousand* by the list of the troops. "*Well*," replied Frederic, "*that is forty thousand, including yourself.*"

‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

till eight o'clock in the evening; and concluded with the commencement of the blockade of Prague * Frederic wrote that night to his mother, the queen-dowager, in these terms:—

"Madam,

"My brother and myself are safe and well. The Austrians are in a fair way to make a bad campaign of it; while I find myself free, and at the head of 150,000 men. Add to this, that we are masters of a kingdom which is obliged to furnish us with troops and money. The Austrians have been dispersed like chaff before the wind. I shall send part of my army to make my compliments to the French; and with the rest I am about to pursue the Austrians."†

It may be doubtful whether the battle of Prague would not have been still more decisive—indeed, sufficiently so to end the war at once—had it not been for the apparently trifling circumstance of there not being quite enough of pontons in the Prussian army. That part of it which was commanded by Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau was posted opposite to Prague, on the other side of the Muldau. When the enemy began to fly, he decided to throw a bridge across the river, and thus to attack them in their rear. But in consequence of the river being swelled with some rain which had lately fallen, the pontons he possessed were not sufficient to stretch entirely across it; and he and his soldiers were thus obliged to remain simple spectators of the heroic deeds of their countrymen. Had this been otherwise, it is probable that no Austrians would have escaped to tell the tale of their own defeat.‡

The portion of the Austrian army commanded by Marshal Daun was on its march to join that of

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III. † Vie de Frederic II
‡ Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

Prince Charles; but was not able to do so till the battle of Prague had effectually prevented the junction. Daun, however, was able to unite with the right wing of the Austrians, which had fled to Beneschau.* The King of Prussia detached the Duke of Bevern, with 20,000 men, to arrest the progress of Daun; and the latter retreated before him, at the same time collecting as many as he could of the scattered troops of the Austrian army.†

At the same time Frederic himself proceeded to blockade Prague on both sides of the river; and the two divisions into which his army was thus separated were commanded by himself and by Marshal Keith. In four days the whole town was surrounded with lines and intrenchments; and all external communication thus cut off. Among those shut up within the walls were Prince Charles of Lorraine, two princes of Saxony, the Prince of Modena, the Duke of Aremberg, and Count Lacy.‡

On the night of the 23d of May Prince Charles made a sortie at the head of 12,000 men, for the purpose of attacking Marshal Keith. He was however repulsed, with the loss of 1000 men killed and wounded. Upon this occasion the young Prince Ferdinand, brother of the King of Prussia, distinguished himself greatly; and received a wound.§

The Prussians commenced the bombardment of Prague on the 29th of May, and continued it for several days; during which time the town was set on fire in various places with shells and red-hot balls.‖ Towards the end of these attacks the part of Prague called the New Town, and the quarter inhabited by the Jews, were a heap of ruins. In these conflagrations numbers perished; either burnt to death, killed by the shells, or buried beneath the

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
‡ Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.
§ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
‖ Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

ruins of their houses. The Prussians, in their intrenchments, could plainly hear during the night the groans and lamentations of the unhappy sufferers.* These horrors were augmented by the famine which existed, and which was so severe that the population of 80,000 persons subsisted upon scanty supplies of horseflesh. These privations occasioned pestilential maladies, and this scourge also destroyed many.† The inhabitants, who now saw before them the alternative of starvation or the general conflagration of their city, implored the governor to open the gates to the Prussians. But he resisted their entreaties, and drove out of the town 12,000 persons who were the least useful for its defence. These were again forced back by the Prussian troops, and contributed to increase the scarcity of provisions.‡

In the mean while the orders received by the Austrian generals from their court were to deliver Prague, at whatever risk that object might be achieved. In conformity with these instructions, Daun had been employed in collecting reinforcements for his army, and he soon found himself at the head of 60,000 men. The Duke of Bevern was not sufficiently strong to make any resistance to such a force, which was three times as numerous as his own; and he was therefore obliged to retire himself, and to allow Daun to commence his march towards Prague. The King of Prussia, alarmed at these movements, and aware that, if he did not arrest the progress of the Austrian general, his forces would probably find themselves some morning attacked, at the same moment, by the advancing army and also by the troops who were shut up in Prague, determined upon marching to meet Daun,

* What a picture is this of the miseries inflicted by war! the amusement of sovereigns, into which they so often thoughtlessly plunge their subjects.

† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

‡ Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

and hazarding a battle; which, if successful, must at once determine the fate of Prague.*

Perhaps he trusted too much to his own good fortune and the invincible character of his troops, who had never been defeated since they were led by him; but it must be owned, at the same time, that in his position a decisive blow was necessary without delay. For the Russians, the Swedes, the French, and the forces of the empire were all on their march against him or his territories; and if he gave them time to approach, not only Prague was lost to him, but his very existence as an independent sovereign would have been much endangered. Under these circumstances, he therefore collected as many troops as could be spared from the blockading army, which detachment amounted to 12,000 men; and putting himself at their head, marched to unite himself to the forces of the Duke of Bevern, strengthening himself as he went with whatever forces he could collect. His junction with the Duke of Bevern was effected, after encountering some difficulties, near Kauerzim.†

On the 17th of June, the King of Prussia, at the head of his united army of 32,000 men, found himself in the presence of Count Daun, who, supported by above 60,000, was posted near Kolin, on the heights, and having in his front a rugged ravine, and some large pieces of water. In spite, however, of the enormous superiority in numbers of the Austrians, and of their advantageous position, Frederic resolved upon attacking them. As the front of Daun's position was inattackable, the King of Prussia determined to take him in flank, and commence the contest by an engagement with his right wing. Having made all his dispositions with this view, he and his troops passed the night under arms. On the morning of the 18th, he found that Daun, who had

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

become aware of his intentions, had latered his position accordingly. The head-quarters of Daun were placed at the little village of Chotzemitz, on an eminence; from whence having, with a telescope, surveyed calmly and attentively the dispositions of his enemy, he is reported to have said, "Upon my word, it seems to me that the king must lose to-day."*

The Prussian monarch, however, persevered, and the action was begun by Ziethen, who commanded the Prussian right wing, and who marched against the Austrian left wing, commanded by Nadasti. The Austrian cannon mowed down whole ranks of Prussians; but the impetuosity of the latter was not to be daunted, and they succeeded in driving back the Austrians behind the centre of their army. General Hulsen, at the same time, with the vanguard, attacked the centre, commanded by Daun in person; and, in spite of the disadvantage of numbers, the tremendous fire of the artillery from the heights, and the murderous discharges from the Croats and other light troops, posted behind the hedges and in the ditches, continued the contest with advantage.† At this period of the battle the advantages were all upon the side of the Prussians; they had defeated the left wing of the Austrians, and cut to pieces the cavalry who attempted to defend it; and Daun, astounded at their impetuosity and valour, was preparing for a retreat, when a circumstance occurred which entirely changed the fortune of the day.‡

Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau, in advancing with too little caution, with part of the centre, had left an interval in the line between that and the left wing, of which the enemies did not fail to profit. Some regiments of Saxon cavalry, without waiting for

* "Ma foi, il me semble que le roi doit perdre aujourdhui."—Wraxall's Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna.

† Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.—Grimoard Tableau du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

‡ Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

orders, rushed into the opening, and threw the Prussians into confusion. In vain did Hulsen repeat his charges seven times. In vain did Frederic expose his own person to animate his soldiers. Charging at their head in the post of the most danger, and crying out, at the seventh charge, upon seeing some of the soldiers naturally unwilling to rush upon certain destruction, "Do you expect to live for ever?"* In vain did the Prussian regiments, with admirable courage and discipline, form themselves into hollow squares, and thus become impenetrable themselves, cause a vast carnage among their assailants. Fresh reinforcements of cavalry arrived, and the Saxons, who burned with ardour to avenge their former defeats, fought with a desperate valour, and exclaimed, while cutting down the Prussians, "Remember Strigau."† The Austrian artillery, during this whole time, doing tremendous execution, while that of the Prussians could not be made use of.‡

At length the Prussians gave way in all directions, and retired. But Frederic, who was equally great in a moment of defeat as in that of victory, arranged his retreat so admirably, that he carried off all his baggage and the greater part of his artillery; leaving his enemies in equal admiration of his courage as a hero and his talents as a commander. The right wing of the Prussian army, which had, in the beginning of the engagement, repulsed the enemy, had prepared to encamp upon the spot, and to celebrate their victory with rejoicings. Some of the soldiers were actually unsaddling their horses, when news was brought them of the sad fate of their brethren in arms, and they also were obliged to retreat.

The Prussians lost in the battle of Kolin 11,000 men, killed and wounded. Among these the mag-

* Vie de Frederic II.

† Otherwise called the battle of Hohen-Friedberg, where the united army of the Saxons and Austrians had been completely defeated by Frederic, June 3d, 1745.

‡ Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

nificent regiment of guards, amounting to 1000 men, was entirely destroyed. They also lost forty-three cannons, and twenty-two standards. On the side of the Austrians there were 9000 men killed and wounded, and they also lost five standards. Marshal Daun was among the wounded. The battle of Kolin was the first real reverse sustained by Frederic; but he had, at least, the satisfaction of feeling that the error of another had caused the disastrous result; while his own wise and judicious dispositions, both in the battle and in the retreat, had been the subject of praise by all who witnessed them.*

After the battle the King of Prussia wrote the following philosophical letter to his friend Lord Marischal:—"Prosperity, my dear lord, often inspires a dangerous confidence. Twenty-three battalions were not sufficient to drive an army of 60,000 men from their intrenchments. Another time we will take our precautions better. Fortune has this day turned her back upon me. I ought to have expected it. She is a female, and I am not gallant. She has declared herself on the side of the ladies, with whom I am at war. What say you to this league against the Margrave of Brandenburgh? How great would be the astonishment of the great elector, if he could see his great-grandson at war at the same time with the Russians, the Austrians, almost all Germany, and 100,000 French auxiliaries. I do not know whether it will be disgraceful in me to be overcome; but I am sure there will be no great glory in vanquishing me."† In the same letter he entered into considerable details respecting the engagement, and praised, in the warmest manner, the valour and conduct of his brothers Henry and Ferdinand.

Frederic retired from the field of battle to Nimbourg; and sent orders to his troops engaged in the blockade of Prague to raise the siege of that city

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

They obeyed forthwith; but were obliged, in their retreat, to abandon a portion of their wounded and some cannons, which were taken possession of by the Austrians. As soon as the blockading army had joined Frederic, he retreated to Leutmeritz, where he intrenched himself; and remained for some time, recruiting his own forces, and endeavouring to penetrate the designs of his numerous enemies.*

In this hour of misfortune, Frederic also received intelligence of a severe domestic calamity which had fallen upon him. This was the death of his mother, Sophia Dorothea, Princess of Hanover, and Queen-dowager of Prussia, to whom he had been always tenderly attached. So much has been said of this princess in the former part of this work, that it is not necessary here to dwell upon her character. The passage, in his history of the war, which her son consecrates to her memory, will best describe his opinion of her, and his feelings at her loss:—"The royal family lost this year the queen-mother. The king received this fatal news after the battle of Kolin, and at a moment when fortune seemed most to have declared against the Prussians. He was deeply afflicted at it; having always venerated and adored this princess, as a tender mother, whose virtues and great qualities caused the admiration of those who had the happiness to approach her. Her death did not occasion merely a formal mourning, but was a public calamity. The great regretted her amiable and gracious manners; the lower orders, her condescension; the poor, their benefactress; the unfortunate, their consoling protectress; the men of letters, their patroness; and all those who had the honour to approach her more nearly, as part of her family, felt as if they had lost a part of themselves, and were much more unhappy at the

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

blow which carried her away from them than she was herself."*

The defeat of the Prussians at Kolin was the signal which seemed to rouse the formidable league that sought his ruin at once into active exertion. Even the Aulic Council of the empire arrayed itself against him, and declared that he had legally forfeited all his dominions.

While, as if to assist in the carrying into effect this decree, the French under the command of Marshal d'Estrées took possession of Westphalia; the Russians under Apraxin invaded Prussia; the Prince of Soubise, at the head of another French army, united himself to the troops of the empire, for the purpose of entering Saxony; and the Swedes passed the Baltic, with a view of attacking Pomerania.† The armies of the King of Prussia had been so much diminished by the sword, by diseases, by desertion, and by the necessity of keeping large garrisons in the fortified towns; that it is calculated, that at this critical moment of the contest the whole amount of his disposable force did not exceed 80,000, to resist the aggressions of above 400,000!‡

At this time the confederates against Frederic were undoubtedly convinced that a very short period would suffice to them to annihilate their enemy; so weakened was his power, and so deserted his condition. This feeling of confidence of success was quaintly expressed by a Catholic preacher of Nuremberg. A body of the troops of the empire, intended to act against Prussia, had been raised in that town, and were exercised and disciplined by the bishop in person; and one of his chaplains, preaching to them from the pulpit, and wishing to animate their courage, exclaimed with more zeal than religion, "The vic-

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

tory cannot but be ours; for, besides that our army is most powerful, we have many holy champions with us; the pope, the most Christian king, the holy Roman empire, and almost all the sovereigns of Europe. But the Protestants, who have they to support them? No one, except the King of Prussia and the good God!"*

The prospect before the King of Prussia was indeed frightful; yet he still preserved unimpaired that courage and judgment which were more than ever necessary to support him through his dangers and trials. In a moment, however, of despair, the thought of putting an end to his own existence is said to have crossed his mind. At least the testimony of Voltaire, and a long copy of irreligious verses addressed by Frederic to the Marquis d'Argens, would seem to favour the notion. The poem to D'Argens commences with the following lines:—

"Ami, le sort en est jetté;
Las de plier dans l'infortune,
Sous le joug de l'adversité,
J'accourcis le terme arrêté,
Que la nature notre mère,
A mes jours remplis de misère,
A daigné prodiguer par libéralité."†

But a very long poetical epistle, filled with mythological metaphors and historical allusions, was a singular preparation for suicide; and it is therefore undoubtedly more probable that his intentions upon the subject were not of a very fixed or settled kind. We are the more warranted to think this from the circumstance of his having written a poem, full of heroic sentiments and determinations of resistance, at the very same time, to Voltaire. It concludes thus—

* Vie de Frederic II.
† Mémoires pour servir à la Vie de M. de Voltaire.

"Voltaire dans son hermitage
Dans un pays* dont l'héritage
Est son antique bonne-foi,
Peut se livrer en paix à la vertu du Sage,
Dont Platon nous marque la loi.
Pour moi, menacé du naufrage,
Je dois en affrontant l'orage,
Penser, vivre, et mourir en Roi."†

Voltaire, after giving a long extract from the copy of verses to D'Argens, remarks, "He sent me a copy of this epistle written with his own hand. It contains many hemistichs stolen from the Abbé de Chaulieu and from me. The ideas are incoherent, and the verses are generally bad ones; but there are some that are good; and it is a great deal for a king in the state he was then in to write an epistle of two hundred lines."‡

CHAPTER III.

King of Prussia's Movements—His Conduct to his Brother—Campaign of the Hanoverians—Battle of Hastenbeck, and Convention of Closter-Severn—The Russian Army enters Prussia—Battle of Jægerndorff—Marshal Lehwald drives the Swedes out of Pomerania—The French ravage the Prussian Provinces—General Haddick occupies Berlin—Combat of Gorlitz, and of Barsdorf—Battle of Rosbach—The Cardinal De Tencin's unsuccessful Negotiations.

As soon as the plans of the King of Prussia were arranged, he broke up his camp at Leutmeritz;§ and dividing his army into two portions, confided one to the care of his brother, the hereditary Prince of Prussia, to whom he gave orders to march into Lusatia; while, heading the other himself, he marched it into Saxony.‖ Frederic experienced no

* Geneva. † Œuvres de Frederic II.
‡ Mémoires pour servir à la Vie de M. de Voltaire.
§ July 23d, 1757.
‖ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

difficulties in his march, being followed only by an army of observation, under the command of Nadasti. The Prince of Prussia was not so fortunate: he was pursued by the army of Daun, to which had now been added the troops commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine; and they succeeded, not only in harassing him, but in taking the town of Gabel before his eyes, and without his being able to succour it. This exploit was performed by the Duke of Aremberg, at the head of a detachment consisting of 20,000 men. General Putkammer, at the head of 1900 men, made a gallant defence, but was at length obliged to capitulate. By this loss the Prince of Prussia's communication with Zittau, where were the magazines for provisioning his army, was cut off. He was also obliged to take a more circuitous and dangerous road through the mountains, in order to arrive at Zittau; and before he got there the Austrians under Prince Charles were already in possession of it, and had reduced the town to ashes. Meanwhile, the prince in his march was perpetually harassed by the Austrian light troops; and was finally obliged to direct his course to Bautzen, in order to obtain his supplies from Dresden.*

At Bautzen he was met by his brother, with his part of the army. Frederic was so incensed at the losses sustained by the Prince of Prussia, which he attributed entirely to his negligence and incapacity —and they were, perhaps, partly attributable to these causes—that he would not speak to him.† The prince thus relates himself what passed upon the occasion.

"At ten o'clock the king arrived at the right wing of our camp, and marked out where he wished the regiments he had brought with him to be placed. I mounted my horse and went to him, accompanied by the Prince of Bevern, the Prince of Wurtemberg,

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
† Vie de Frederic II.

and the principal generals. As soon as the king saw us he turned away his horse, and remained a quarter of an hour in that position. At length I went up to him to pay him my respects. He did not say a word, nor condescend to look at me, and hardly took off his hat. The Prince of Bevern and the other generals were not better received. Soon afterward, he called the General Goltz, and said to him, 'Tell my brother and his generals, that if I did my duty I should have all their heads cut off.' I also learned that the king had forbidden that any intercourse should take place between his own regiments and those under my command; on the pretext that my officers and my soldiers had lost all courage and all ambition. He also sent away the General Schulz, whom I had sent to him for the countersign for my army; and when I went to him myself, to take him the lists and the report of the troops, he took them from me without speaking, and then turned his back upon me. After this unworthy treatment I took the resolution of quitting the camp, and of going to the town of Bautzen. I wrote the next day the following letter to the king:—

"'My dear Brother,

"'Your letters to me, and still more your reception of me yesterday, make me sufficiently aware that, in your opinion, I have lost both honour and reputation. This naturally afflicts me; but will not overwhelm me, as I do not feel that I have the least reproach to make to myself. I know that I have not acted from caprice, and that I have not asked the advice of unwise persons; but that I have done all that I thought in my conscience was best for the army. All your generals will, I am sure, do me this justice. I fear it would be useless for me to ask you to examine into my conduct; it would be a great favour to me if you would; therefore I do not expect it. My health has been injured by my fatigues, and still more by vexation. I have

therefore gone to lodge in the town for the purpose of recovering myself.

"'I have begged the Prince of Bevern to make to you the reports of the army; he can explain to you every thing. Be assured, my dear brother, that in spite of the misfortunes which overwhelm me, and which I have not merited, I shall never cease to be attached to my country; and as a faithful subject of it, my joy will be perfect when I shall hear of the happy success of your enterprises.'

"The king sent me the following answer, written with his own hand:—

"'My dear Brother,

"'Your bad conduct has greatly injured my affairs. It is not the enemies, but your ill-concerted measures, that do me harm. My generals also are inexcusable, whether they gave you bad advice, or only suffered you to come to such injudicious resolutions. Your ears are only accustomed to hear the speeches of flatterers. Daun did not flatter you, and you see the consequences. In this sad situation, it only remains for me to make a last attempt. I must hazard a battle, and if we cannot conquer, we shall at least find an honourable death. I do not complain of your heart, but of your incapacity, and of the litt' judgment you have shown in making your decisions. He who has not many days to live cannot dissemble. I wish you a better fortune than I have had; and that the evils and misfortunes into which you have fallen may teach you for the future to conduct important matters with more care, reason, and resolution than you have hitherto done. The greatest part of the miseries which I now apprehend come only from you. You and your children will suffer even more from them than I shall. Be, however, convinced that I have

always loved you, and that with those sentiments I shall die.'

"I thought it better not to make any answer to this letter; but I requested, through Lieutenant-colonel Lentulus, to be permitted to go to Dresden. The king answered, 'I might do as I pleased.'"*

The Prince of Prussia upon this retired from the army; and afterward went to Berlin, his brother having signified to him his wish that he should go there; adding, "Let him go and get children; he is fit for nothing else." Thus concluded the military career of William Augustus Prince of Prussia, the grandfather of the present sovereign of that country. He died the following year; and his death is said to have been, if not caused, at least accelerated, by grief at the manner in which his brother had treated him, and the public disgrace and degradation he had inflicted upon him.† The harshness and cruelty of Frederic to his brother upon the occasion just related were, undoubtedly, inexcusable; and especially as he himself, in his own letter, expressly allows that the faults and errors of the prince were not those of intention.

The Hanoverian allies of the King of Prussia had been so unfortunate in their campaign this year, that they were in no condition to render any assistance to him in his difficulties. Early in the month of April the French had taken possession of the towns of Cleves, Wesel, and Cologne. They then advanced, under the command of Marshal d'Estrées, as far as Munster. The Duke of Cumberland, who commanded against them, and who had assembled his forces at Bielefeld, was forced to retreat to Herford. The French, upon this, took possession of the whole landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, and pursued the duke, who, finding a battle inevitable, halted at

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

† Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.

Hastenbeck, and made the necessary preparations. The engagement* was not of a very decisive nature; though the victory undoubtedly must be awarded to the French, as the Duke of Cumberland retreated from the field of battle. "What," observes the King of Prussia, "was singular and remarkable was, that the Marshal d'Estrées was recalled for having gained a victory." This was occasioned by a court intrigue, in order that the Duke of Richelieu might supply his place, who was a favourite of Madame de Pompadour, the mistress of the King of France.†

After Hastenbeck, the campaign of the Duke of Cumberland was one series of faults. By his rapid retreat, he left the whole country at the mercy of the French. Hanover was taken possession of by the Duke of Richelieu, whose extortions and cruelties were more worthy of a barbarian conqueror than of the general of a civilized nation. The French army continued their pursuit, the Duke of Cumberland still retiring to the north; till at length he found himself so blockaded by his enemies, and so completely separated from succours and resources of all kinds, that he was forced, on the 8th of September, to conclude with the Duke of Richelieu the disgraceful capitulation which is known by the name of the Convention of Closter-Severn. By the principal article of this treaty, his troops, whether Hanoverians, Hessians, or Brunswickers, were disbanded; the two latter returned to their own homes; while those of Hanover, it was stipulated, should remain inactive at Stade.‡ This agreement was concluded by the mediation of the Count Lynar, the minister of the King of Denmark; at the instigation, as it is supposed, of George the Second of England (though he afterward disavowed it), who was anxious, at any loss

* July 26th, 1757.
† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
‡ Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

of honour or credit, to preserve his army, which he thought the boldness of his son would hazard the loss of. As soon as the convention was arranged, the Duke of Cumberland returned to England.* Thus were the French left free to pursue whatever course of operations they preferred; and they immediately prepared, in consequence, to invade the principality of Halberstadt. This expedition the Duke of Richelieu intended to command in person, at the same time despatching the Prince of Soubise, with 25,000 men, to Erfurt, to join the army of the circles, commanded by the Prince of Saxe-Hildbourghausen, and to act with them.

The annihilation of the army of the Duke of Cumberland was a most grievous blow to the fortunes of the King of Prussia, as it threw the whole weight of defending the western part of his territories upon his own troops, who were few in number and obliged to be still further weakened, in order that a sufficient garrison might be placed in the important fortress of Magdeburg.

On the eastern frontier of the King of Prussia's dominions the Russians had collected a force, amounting to 120,000 men, under the command of General Apraxin. To make head against this multitude, Marshal Lehwald was stationed in the province of Prussia, at the head of only 22,000 men. The Russians invaded the province, and carried desolation wherever they went. They took Memel, and obliged Lehwald to retreat from the camp of Insterbourg, which he had fortified.† The King of Prussia, however, who felt the necessity, even under the disadvantage of the enormous disparity of numbers, of taking decisive measures to stop the progress of the Russians, had encouraged Lehwald to hazard a battle; at the same time leaving him at liberty to act as he thought proper. Thus incited,

* Memoirs by Horace Walpole Earl of Orford.
† Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

and also feeling that if he did not strike the blow at once the Russians would inevitably obtain possession of Kœnigsberg, in which were the Prussian magazines, Lehwald determined at once to attack the enemy in their camp at Jægerndorff. This combat took place on the 30th of August. In its commencement, the valour of the Prussian cavalry overthrew every obstacle, and repulsed that of the Russians; but the infantry of the latter, being so infinitely more numerous than that of the former, was enabled to retrieve the fortune of the day. Finally, the loss on the two sides was nearly equal; that of the Russians being 6500 killed and wounded, and that of the Prussians 5700. The latter, however, lost some cannon. The action must be considered a drawn one,* for though Lehwald retreated, he was not pursued; and the consequence of the engagement was the evacuation of Prussia by Apraxin, with the exception of the fortress of Memel.†

Marshal Lehwald pursued him to the frontier, and then marched back to oppose the Swedes; whose army, consisting of 17,000 men, was commanded by Baron Ungern Sternberg. He found them in possession of part of Pomerania, and of the towns of Anclam and Demmin. The General Manteufel, to whom Frederic had confided the defence of the province, was not sufficiently strong to resist their enterprises; and the whole of Pomerania seemed destined to fall into their hands. But the arrival of Lehwald changed the face of affairs. He retook Anclam and Demmin, and drove the Swedes back

* Lord Chesterfield, in a letter to his son, thus comments very justly upon this engagement:—"The late action between the Prussians and Russians has only thinned the human species without giving either party a victory, which is plain by each party's claiming it. Upon my word, our species will pay very dear for the quarrels and ambition of a few, and those by no means the most valuable part of it. If the many were wiser than they are, the few must be quieter, and would, perhaps, be juster and better than they are."

† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

to Stralsund, where, not thinking themselves in safety, they finally took refuge in the island of Rugen. In this short expedition Lehwald took 3000 prisoners. It was said of the Swedes upon this occasion, in allusion to the secrecy showed in their invasion of Pomerania, and the dastardly rapidity of their retreat, that "they had entered that province like foxes, and had quitted it like hares."*

But though the Russians and Swedes were thus repulsed, the other enemies of Frederic were in the very heart of his dominions. The Duke of Richelieu was employed in ravaging the Prussian provinces, and in committing cruelties on them at which humanity shudders; and which have not only attached disgrace to himself, but have also left a stain upon the fair fame of the French nation, similar to that which the devastation of the palatinate, under the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, had previously inflicted upon them. On the other hand, General Haddick, detached from the Austrian army in Lusatia with 4000 men, ventured as far as Berlin, and laid that town, which was without fortifications, under contribution. He was, however, soon obliged, by the approach of Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau, to a somewhat precipitate retreat.†

Frederic, in order to offer resistance to so many enemies at once, divided his army into various detachments; and as he could not bear remaining on the defensive, he sent the Colonel Mayer to make an incursion into Franconia, and to threaten the town of Nuremberg. After levying considerable contributions, and taking many prisoners, he returned unopposed. At the same time, he determined himself to march against the united army of the princes of Hildbourghausen and Soubise. He left Marshal Keith on the frontiers of Bohemia to watch Nadasti, and passed into Saxony, intending by the

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

way to give battle to Prince Charles of Lorraine, near Witgendorf. As, however, he found his position unattackable, he abandoned the care of observing him, and of covering Silesia and Lusatia, to the Duke of Bevern, and proceeded himself against the united army of France and the empire, which was encamped on the bank of the river Saale. At the approach of Frederic, the opposing army retreated to Eisenach; and from thence was pursued by him as far as Erfurt and Gotha.*

The Prince of Lorraine, who was anxious to profit by the superiority of his forces over those of the Duke of Bevern, lost no time after the departure of the King of Prussia in planning and executing attacks upon the Prussians. On the 7th of September he sent Nadasti to attack that part of the Prussian army which was posted near Gorlitz, on the hill of Holzberg. General Winterfeld† advanced with his corps to the assistance of the attacked, and was killed in the combat. After an obstinate resistance, the Prussians were obliged to yield to forces which were ten times more numerous than their own; and Nadasti took possession of the Prussian post.‡

The Duke of Bevern was compelled soon after this to retire into Silesia from want of provisions; and placed himself near Liegnitz. Prince Charles endeavoured to impede his march by posting himself in his way, on the road to Breslau. The two armies began cannonading each other on the 18th of September, at the village of Barsdorf, which was occupied by a part of the Prussian army. The village was burnt; but the Prussians, under Prince Francis of

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

† General Winterfeld was an officer of merit, to whom Frederic was much attached. A short time before his death, the king, in taking leave of him, made use of the following flattering expressions:—"My dear Winterfeld, I had almost forgotten to give you your instructions. They consist of but one article—Preserve yourself for my sake."

‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

Brunswick, kept their ground. As it was become obvious to the Prussian general that it would be impossible for him to reach Breslau without fighting a battle, his whole attention was directed to the manner in which he might fight it with as little disadvantage as possible. With this view, he strengthened the garrisons of the town of Silesia, and marching towards Breslau, planted himself in an intrenched camp behind the little river Loh, immediately opposite to the spot occupied by the troops of the empress-queen. The latter were encamped near Lissa; and Prince Charles found himself so strong, being now reinforced by the Bavarian and Wurtemberg troops, that he was enabled to detach Nadasti to besiege the town of Schweidnitz, while his light troops laid the whole of Silesia under contribution. In this position the opposing armies remained for some time.

The King of Prussia had heard, during his pursuit of the combined army of France and the empire, of the incursion of Haddick, and his detachment to Berlin; and with a view of cutting off his retreat, he marched into Lower Lusatia, leaving Marshal Keith, who was now stationed near Leipsic, to watch the motions of the two princes. General Haddick had the good fortune to escape the army of Frederic; and the latter, on his return, found that the Prince of Hildbourghausen, who had separated himself from Soubise, had obliged Marshal Keith to retire within the walls of Leipsic, and had even summoned him to an immediate surrender. Frederic delivered Leipsic, and obliged Hildbourghausen to retire behind the Saale, and reunite himself with Soubise. Their army had also been reinforced by a detachment sent them by the Duke of Richelieu, so that their united forces now amounted to 70,000 men. This formidable body of troops was encamped near Micheln, having been obliged to retreat from Mersebourg and Weissenfels by the Prussians.

who had taken possession of the latter town, and in it 300 prisoners. On the 3d of November the King of Prussia passed the Saale, and encamped near Braunsdorf; his army now amounting, after he had received reinforcements from Halle and Mersebourg, to only 20,000 men. His intention was to attack the enemy the next day; but the combat was delayed till the 5th, in consequence of the Prince of Soubise having changed his position during the night. This obliged the Prussians also to change theirs, and to fall back upon the village of Rosbach, which thus gave its name to one of the most remarkable battles of modern times.*

As soon as the Prussian army was drawn out in order of battle, the king is said to have addressed his soldiers in the following words:—"My dear friends, the time is now arrived when all that is, and all that ought to be, dear to us depends upon our conduct. Time does not permit me to make you a long harangue, nor would it be of any use. You all know, that there is no suffering, no labour, no hunger, no cold, no watching, no danger, however great it may have been, which I have not hitherto shared with you; and you now see me ready to lay down my life with you and for you. All I ask in return is, the same pledge of affection and fidelity which I give. Here let me add, not as an incitement to your courage, but as a testimony of my own gratitude, that from this hour till you go into winter-quarters, your pay shall be doubled. And now, my friends, let us advance to the combat with courage, at the same time putting our trust and confidence in God."†

This short speech produced a great effect upon the troops, and was received with the loudest acclamations.

The object of the combined army was to envelop

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III
† *Ibid.*—Vie de Frederic II.

the Prussians, and to cut off their retreat from Weissenfels. With this view, while a detachment under the command of the Count de St. Germain was stationed in front of the Prussians to amuse them, the great body of the troops filed off behind these, and tried to encircle the Prussian left wing. Frederic remained tranquil, and allowed the Prince of Soubise to approach; then, leaving some battalions to oppose St. Germain, he suddenly made a retrograde movement to the left, with the view of attacking the flank of the French. This demonstration was taken by the latter for a retreat, and they therefore only hastened their march, in order entirely to surround the Prussians. But in the midst of this manœuvre, General Seidlitz, whose cavalry had been concealed by a rising ground, fell upon their right flank, threw them into disorder, and pursued them flying for a considerable distance. They strove to rally themselves, but another sudden shock completed their defeat. The French generals then attempted to arrange their infantry in order of battle, but the well-directed fire of the Prussian artillery threw them into disorder, and prevented their forming. At the same time Prince Henry of Prussia fell upon them with eight battalions, while some squadrons of cavalry also charged in their rear. They fled precipitately. In vain did the Prince of Soubise bring up the cavalry of his right wing and his reserve to protect the infantry; the Prussian cavalry again worsted them; and Soubise and Hildbourghausen were obliged to fly, without having ever fairly been able to draw out their troops in order of battle.

A feeble resistance was attempted by a corps of allied troops stationed near Braunsdorf. But the King of Prussia having opposed to them some of the battalions of his second line, they also fled. The Prussians pursued the flying army as long as light was afforded them; and then returned, and passed the night under arms on the field of battle. The

combat only lasted two hours,—from three in the afternoon till five; and never was rout more complete than that of the allies. The loss of the Prussians only amounted to 500 killed and wounded; among the latter were Prince Henry and General Seidlitz. On the other side the killed and wounded were 3500; eleven generals and 6220 men were taken prisoners: seventy-one cannon were also taken.* General de Revel, the brother of the Duke of Broglio, died of his wounds at Mersebourg the day after the action. Among other trophies of the battle, a great many decorations of the cross of St. Lewis were taken, which the Prussian soldiers attached to their button-holes in derision.† Voltaire says of this battle, "It was the most inconceivable and complete rout and discomfiture of which history makes any mention. 30,000 French and 20,000 imperial troops were there seen making a disgraceful and precipitate flight before five battalions and a few squadrons. The defeats of Agincourt, Cressy, and Poitiers were not so humiliating."‡

Frederic gave orders that the wounded among the prisoners should be treated with the greatest humanity and attention. He went himself during the night to visit the officers, and to offer them any comforts or assistance they might require; and he said to them, at the same time, with great kindness, "I cannot accustom myself to consider the French as my enemies." All the other officers of distinction who were taken prisoners he invited to sup with him. He told them he regretted he could not offer them a more splendid entertainment; "but, gentlemen," said he, "I did not expect you so soon, nor in such large numbers."

The next day the pursuit was renewed, and the allied army was discovered at Eckersberg, having

* Vie de Frederic II.
† Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.—Vie de Frederic II.
‡ Mémoires pour servir à la Vie de M. de Voltaire.

passed the river Instrutt at Fribourg. On the approach of the Prussians they again fled, leaving behind them all their baggage, and whatever artillery they had saved from the rout of the preceding day; and so great was their terror, that they did not conceive themselves in safety till their different detachments had scattered themselves through Franconia, Hesse, Lower Saxony, and even beyond the Rhine. The panic they suffered under, as well as the miseries they endured in their flight, may be judged of by the following extract of a letter, written by an officer who was in the battle and in the retreat, and dated two days after the former event:—"We have lost all our baggage and artillery, and at least 10,000 men. We marched the whole night, and passing the river at Fribourg, arrived at Eckersberg at six in the morning. At two o'clock in the afternoon the field-marshal (Prince of Hildbourghausen) and Prince George (of d'Armstadt) joined us. They had hardly sat down to dinner when we perceived the enemy at our heels, who cannonaded us briskly; and as our army was not got together, nothing was left for us but to retreat. Having again marched all night, we arrived at last at Erfurt, where we now are, in want of every thing, though we are rather better off than before. It is now eight days since our men have had bread. They have lived upon turnips and radishes, which they dig out of the earth."*

Marshal Keith writes thus to his brother, Lord Marischal, after the battle, in which he himself bore a part:—

"Mersebourg, 9th November, 1747.

"As I knew that Weidmann† had written to you, my very dear brother, the day after the battle, and that consequently you had been made acquainted

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.
† The secretary of the marshal.

with my health and safety, I thought you would pardon me if I delayed a little writing to you. We have honoured the late affair with the name of a battle, though it was really nothing but a rout. The enemies wished to attack us, but we were beforehand with them. By the rapidity of our movements we were enabled to attack them in the flank, while they were marching. Their cavalry sustained the first shock, but was soon overthrown. Their infantry did not do its duty well, but fled precipitately after three or four discharges from our battalions on its flank. After this it was, in fact, only a flight and a pursuit, which lasted till dark night. You may judge by this that the loss has not been great. On our side, about 100 men killed, and 235 wounded. The enemy may have lost 1000 men killed, but we have taken at least 4000 prisoners;* and if the darkness had not favoured them, their army must have been entirely destroyed; for we drove them from within a league of Mersebourg to the river Instrut, where there is only a single bridge, over which they defiled during the whole night, in order to place themselves in safety. We have taken more than sixty pieces of their cannon, many standards and colours; and generals, dukes, marquises, and counts in plenty. We have especially taken a great many of the Swiss, who do not seem to be such *good runners* as the French. Such was generally our battle. When I have read the accounts of it which will be printed, I will erase all the falsehoods on both sides, and thus make for you a true account, which will be only for yourself and for our good chancellor; for one does not write the truth for the public. Prince Henry is wounded with a musket ball in the shoulder, but as he has no bones broken there is no danger. Be assured that this family can never last, if the war continues; they

* The marshal puts his own loss, and still more that of the allies, considerably too low.

expose themselves too much. The king was, the other day, in a place of greater danger than any of his generals. For this time he escaped, but the next he may not be equally fortunate; and a catastrophe may happen, the very thought of which makes me tremble. Adieu, my dear brother. My health is still good, in spite of the fatigues we undergo."*

The battle of Rosbach was considered, even by the Germans, who were the enemies of Frederic, as a most glorious national event; and however politically they might disapprove of the result, they felt equally proud of their superiority as a nation over the French. It is said that a common feeling of this kind even existed between the German soldiers in the two rival armies, who could not, upon this occasion, be brought to consider themselves as really having a separate interest. Thus it is related, that during the combat (and instances of this kind might be multiplied) a soldier of the cavalry regiment of Seidlitz was upon the point of seizing upon a Frenchman, when he saw behind him an Austrian cuirassier, whose lifted sabre was about to cleave his head: "Brother German," said he, "let me take this Frenchman."—"Take him," replied the other, and lowering his sword, rode off.†

Another anecdote of a different kind may be worth relating, from the singular readiness of compliment displayed in it by a common soldier. Frederic, in crossing the field of battle, saw a single French grenadier resisting three Prussians. He stopped the combat, and turning to the man said, "Did you think yourself invincible?"—"I should, sire," replied the soldier, "if I fought under your orders!"‡ The news of the event of Rosbach occasioned the death

* Extracted from the MS. Correspondence of Field-marshal Keith.
† Vie de Frederic II.
‡ Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

of an irreconcilable enemy of the King of Prussia. The Queen of Poland, daughter of the Emperor Leopold, and wife of Augustus the Third, received the news before retiring to rest at night, and was found dead in her bed the next morning. She had been in a feeble state of health for some time, and much worn by the misfortunes which had befallen her husband's house; but the sudden snapping of the thread of life was attributed to this final blow to her hopes and expectations.

Voltaire relates an abortive attempt at negotiation which took place about this time between France and Prussia, or rather, between the Cardinal Tencin, himself, and the Margravine of Bareith. As it came to nothing, it would hardly be worthy of mention, were it not for the quaint and amusing manner in which it is related by Voltaire himself in his own Memoirs. Voltaire appears to have always had a fancy to make himself a political personage by means of obscure negotiations; but, upon the present occasion, he professes to have been led into it in order to plague the Cardinal de Tencin, a profligate ecclesiastic, who had been discredited by his connexion with the Mississippi scheme of Law; and who had, upon a previous occasion, insulted Voltaire as he passed through Lyons, of which he was archbishop.

"The fatal day of Rosbach," says Voltaire, "made all France murmur against the treaty which the Abbé de Bernis had made with the court of Vienna. The Cardinal de Tencin, archbishop of Lyons, had preserved his rank of minister of state, and a private correspondence with the King of France. He was more opposed than any one to the alliance with Austria. He had given me a reception at Lyons with which he must have known I was any thing but satisfied. However, the anxiety to intrigue, which pursued him in his retreat, and which, as they say, never abandons men who have been in

office, led him to connect himself with me, in order that I might engage the Margravine of Bareith to enter into negotiation with him, and to intrust the interests of the king her brother to his hands. He wanted to reconcile the King of Prussia with the King of France, and thus to bring about a peace. It was not difficult to induce the Margravine of Bareith, and the king her brother, to enter into this negotiation; and I undertook to do it with the greater pleasure, because I saw there was no chance of its ultimate success. The Margravine of Bareith wrote for her brother; and it was through me that her letters and those of the cardinal passed. I had the secret satisfaction of being the go-between in this great affair; and, perhaps, another pleasure, that of perceiving that my cardinal was preparing for himself a bitter disappointment. He wrote a fine letter to the King of France, in sending him that of the margravine; and he was quite astonished when the king answered him, very dryly, that the secretary of state for foreign affairs would acquaint him with his intentions. In fact, the Abbé de Bernis dictated to the cardinal the answer he was to send: this answer was a decided refusal to enter into negotiation. He was obliged to sign the model of a letter which the Abbé de Bernis sent him. He sent me this sad despatch, which concluded the whole transaction; and he died of chagrin at it in about a fortnight. I have never exactly understood how people die of vexation, or how ministers and old cardinals, who have such hard hearts, have yet enough of sensibility in them to be killed by a little mortification. My intention had been to laugh at him,—to mortify him; but not to cause his death."*

* Mémoires pour servir à la Vie de M. de Voltaire.

CHAPTER IV.

Consequences of the Battle of Rosbach—Hanoverian Troops commanded by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick—His Movements—The French lay waste Germany—Duke of Richelieu obliged to retreat—Proceedings of Prince Henry and of Marshal Keith—Schweidnitz taken by the Austrians—Battle of Breslau—Capture of Breslau—Battle of Lissa—Breslau retaken by the Prussians—Also Leignitz—Conclusion of the Campaign—Intimate Union between Prussia and England.

The immediate consequence of the victory of Rosbach was the resumption of arms by the Hanoverian troops, who had been obliged to remain inactive ever since the disgraceful capitulation of Closter Severn. Whether they, or rather their rulers, were justified in abandoning that convention upon the ground that it had been previously violated by the cruelties and extortions* exercised by the Duke of Richelieu upon the electorate of Hanover—whether also their interpretation of the same convention, which was a very different one from that put upon it by the French, was the true and fair one—must be left to the discussion of the learned in treaties.† The French remonstrated, and the Hanoverians replied; while at the same time they prepared their army for resistance. It may, however, be fairly doubted, whether any attempt to evade the convention would have taken place on the part of the latter,

* When the Duke of Richelieu returned to Paris after this campaign, he employed himself in building a luxurious pavilion in his garden. The public, aware of his pillage of the electorate, christened it "Le Pavillon d'Hanovre," and it retained the name till the French revolution.

† A contemporary writer calls the infraction of the convention, "This notorious breach of faith—a monument to future politicians in how short a space of time a treaty may be commenced, concluded, disavowed, made advantage of, and violated."—Memoirs by Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford.

had it not been for the opportunity afforded to raise the question by the victory of Rosbach, and the extreme anxiety of George the Second that his electorate should no longer continue in the hands of his enemies. By this short-sighted policy of the King of England he involved himself again in active war; whereas, if Hanover had remained as a deposite in the hands of the French, "Great Britain would have saved about 20,000,000 of money, together with the lives of her best soldiers; and Westphalia would have continued to enjoy the blessings of peace."* To the King of Prussia, however, this step, which he had spared no persuasions to encourage the King of England to, was one of great advantage; first, from its enabling him to make head forthwith against the Duke of Richelieu; and secondly, as engaging England still more and more on his side in the quarrel.†

The Hanoverian troops were placed under the command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick,‡ who assembled them near Stade. George the Second, who did not wish to confide another army to his son, had requested the King of Prussia to allow Prince Ferdinand to enter his service. To this the latter readily consented, though his own army thus lost an able and distinguished general.§ The King of Prussia also left his brother Henry at the head of a corps of 15,000 Prussians to assist in resisting the French; and he sent Marshal Keith to make an incursion into Bohemia, by the way of Toëplitz, while

* Smollett's History of England.

† Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

‡ Ferdinand, Prince of Brunswick Bevern, was born 11th January, 1721. He entered the Prussian service at the age of nineteen, and distinguished himself greatly in the early campaigns of Frederic the Second. His brilliant military career closed with the seven years' war, at the conclusion of which he left the command of a numerous army as poor in fortune as when he received it. He was virtuous, humane, generous, and truly religious; though his religion was, perhaps, too much tinged with the mysticism which is sometimes found in Germany. He died 3d July, 1792.

§ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand

he himself flew to the assistance of Silesia. Several actions between detached parties of the French and Hanoverian troops took place, in which the latter were always successful, and thus by degrees obtained possession of Lunenburgh, Zell, and part of Brunswick.

The cruelties practised by the French in their retreat were worthy of their former barbarous acts. On leaving the town of Zell, they reduced the suburbs to ashes, plundered the rest of the houses, and finally burnt the Orphan Asylum, and in it, as it is said, a considerable number of the helpless children.* It is pleasing, however, to reflect, that even in these extensive devastations practised by the French army in Germany, some brilliant examples of humanity, rare exceptions it is true, were to be found. It is recorded of the Marquis d'Armentieres, that having taken a considerable town in the territory of Hanover, and the inhabitants imploring on their knees his clemency; he answered them, "I am not, undoubtedly, come here to do you any good; but be assured I will do you as little harm as I can."†

The Duke of Richelieu now took up his headquarters at Hanover; from whence, however, he was driven in the early part of the winter. He soon afterward left the army; and his successor in the command, the Count of Clermont, was obliged to pass the Weser, then to abandon Paderborn, then to quit the country of Hesse, and then to evacuate Wesel. Thus were the French driven from post to post, and from town to town; till at length, before the commencement of the next spring, they were obliged to place the Rhine between them and their enemies.‡

The ill success of the French at this period was, undoubtedly, very much to be attributed to the state

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
‡ Grimoard, Tableau du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

of insubordination, misery, and destitution of their army. Their previous generals appear to have thought of nothing but pillage.* When the Count of Clermont, who was a prince of the blood, took the command, he wrote the following description of his troops to Lewis the Fifteenth:—"I have found the army of your majesty divided into three very different corps. The first is above ground, and is composed of robbers and marauders, who are besides in rags; the second is under ground; and the third is in the hospitals. Would your majesty wish me to bring back the first, without waiting till the two latter are able to rejoin it?"† Prince Henry of Prussia had assisted the Hanoverian army in compelling the French to evacuate Hanover; but when he saw this accomplished, he retraced his steps, and returned to Dresden, to defend Saxony against the Austrians and the army of the empire.

The nature and result of the short expedition of Marshal Keith into Bohemia, already alluded to, will be best understood in his own words. He thus writes to Lord Marischal:—

"Chemnitz, 5th December, 1757.

"I am returned this morning from my course into Bohemia. My campaign has been very short, and yet I am very well contented with it; having executed every thing I had proposed to myself, both by destroying several large magazines belonging to the enemy, and also by drawing a corps of from 14,000 to 16,000 men of the enemy towards my side, by which I have delivered the king from them, and thus favoured his projects on Silesia. I can say with truth, that this campaign has been a virgin one; for on my side there has not been a drop of blood spilt, and very little even on that of the enemy; but they were in a dreadful fright at Prague; for, from

* Lettres du Marquis de Montalambert.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

the moment I passed the Egra at Budin, the inhabitants fled from the town. My march has also been a pretty rapid one. I set off from beyond Mersobourg on the 17th of last month. I have been within four miles of the walls of Prague, and now here I am come back again. I can at the same time assure you that the troops are not more fatigued than if they were just come out of winter-quarters."*

Frederic was not greeted with good news on his arrival in Silesia; for shortly after he entered that province, he received the account of the fall of the town of Schweidnitz. Prince Charles of Lorraine had sent the General Nadasti with a strong detachment to besiege it, and the latter after a siege of sixteen days had taken it by assault; the Duke of Bevern having been unable to succour it. The garrison, amounting to 6000 men, were taken prisoners. Nadasti then returned to the main body of the Austrian army, which was encamped within sight of the Prussians in the camp of Betlern, close to Lissa, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Breslau.†

Prince Charles and Marshal Daun, whose army amounted to 90,000 men, while that commanded by the Duke of Bevern did not exceed 23,000, were anxious to put an end to the contest before the arrival of the King of Prussia, who they knew was on his march. They therefore commanded an attack upon the intrenched camp of the Prussians. The heavy artillery taken possession of at Schweidnitz was made use of for the purpose of forming the breaches. Five attacks were made simultaneously upon five different parts of the camp; but the principal one was directed against the Prussian centre, and was effected by the Austrians having thrown bridges over the little river Loh, which defended it in front. In vain Prince Ferdinand of Prussia and

* MS. Correspondence of Field-marshal Keith.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

the soldiers under him performed prodigies of valour; and the other Prussian officers also distinguished themselves by their conduct and their courage: the numbers of the combatants were too unequal. The Austrians gained ground at all points, and the loss of the Prussians was tremendous. Night put a stop to the combat, but not till in most parts of the Prussian army it had become a retreat. Profiting by the darkness, the Duke of Bevern rallied part of his army in the suburbs of Breslau. Meanwhile the left wing of the Prussian army had alone been somewhat more successful. Ziethen, who commanded it, had repulsed with success the reiterated attacks of Nadasti, till night separated the combatants. This disastrous battle to the Prussians was fought on the 22d of November, and has been called the battle of Breslau. The Austrians lost 1600 men killed, and 4600 wounded, and four cannons; the Prussians lost 1200 killed, 5000 wounded, 3600 prisoners or missing, thirty-three cannons, and five standards.

The Duke of Bevern deemed his army, weakened by these great losses, so inadequate to resist the continued attacks of the Austrians, that he abandoned his camp during the night, and marched through Breslau to the other side of the town, intending to go and meet the King of Prussia. He was, however, himself, two days afterward, taken prisoner by some Croats, whom, in the darkness of early morning, he mistook for his own soldiers; and Ziethen, in consequence, took the command of the remains of the army, and proceeded in the direction of Glogau, to unite his troops to those of the king.*

Immediately after the victory of Breslau, General Nadasti summoned General Lestewitz, the governor, to surrender Breslau; and the latter was compelled

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand

to obey. The capture of Breslau by the Austrians afforded to the bishop of that city an opportunity of exhibiting the blackest ingratitude towards the King of Prussia. The name of this prelate was Schafgotch; and he had been promoted to the bishopric by Frederic, who had also conferred upon him the title of prince, given him the order of the black eagle, and shown him favour and kindness in every possible way. In return for these benefits, the prelate, when the Austrians obtained possession of the town, volunteered to be the first person to take the oath of allegiance to the empress-queen; and then, to prove his sincerity, he took off his Prussian order, and trampled it under foot. When Frederic regained possession of Breslau, the bishop endeavoured to excuse his conduct, but the king spurned his treachery, and exiled him. He went first to Vienna, and afterward to Rome; but the reputation of his base ingratitude preceded him, and he was everywhere received as he merited.*

Thus, by the time Frederic arrived in Silesia, he found nearly the whole province returned to the obedience of the empress-queen; his army defeated and dispersed; and his enemies in the full expectation of annihilating him and his power without further delay or trouble. That monarch however rose, as usual, superior to his misfortunes. In his march he drove the Generals Marchal and Haddick out of Lusatia; surprised at Parchwitz a detachment under the command of General Gersdorf; took possession of the Austrian magazines of provisions at Neumark; and having collected the scattered remains of the Duke of Bevern's army, which, however, he obliged to encamp separately from his own victorious troops, for fear of their communicating to them their own despondency, placed his camp near Breslau, on the side of the town towards Lissa.†

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.—Vie de Frederic II

† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

He arrived in this latter position on the 4th of December, 1757, and forthwith summoned his principal officers to him. When they were all assembled he addressed them thus :—"My friends, to-morrow I intend to offer battle to the enemy. As the success of the campaign depends upon the fate of this engagement, and as it will also decide to whom Silesia is to belong, I have sent for you to tell you that I reckon upon each of you doing his duty as well as he is able. I expect also from each of you, at his post, the greatest attention to the commands he may receive; and that you will give to the soldiers under you an example of courage, daring, and intrepidity; in short, that you will each of you advance against the enemy in the firm resolution either to conquer or die. If you all follow my own intentions in this particular, we are sure of the victory. I am well aware of the strong and weak points of the enemy, and I will therefore place every corps so that it may fight with advantage. It will therefore only depend upon yourselves to combat with bravery, and to give proofs of that ancient Prussian valour which animated your ancestors. Let any one of you, then, who hesitates to sacrifice his blood and his life, retire now, lest his timidity should infect others. If he will now come forward, I will give him his dismissal without difficulty or reproach." Here the General Rohr was so much affected as to burst into tears; upon which the king turned to him, and said kindly, "My dear Rohr, this does not regard you." One of the officers, then, speaking for the rest, said, "None but a coward could hesitate. We are all ready to sacrifice our lives for your majesty."

Upon this, the king, evidently much pleased, concluded his address with these words :—"I see there is no one here who is not animated with an heroic courage. I shall, however, should any person fail in his promise or his duty, be sure to remark it; for I shall be in the front and the rear of the army; I shall

fly from one wing to the other; and no squadron and no company will escape my observation. Those who act well I will reward with graces and favours, and will never forget them. But should any one dishonour himself in any way, let him take care never to appear again before me."*

The next day† Frederic found himself in presence of the Austrian army, consisting of 90,000 men; which, confident from its late successes, had advanced to meet him. Although the army of the King of Prussia did not amount to above 30,000, he determined not to refuse the combat. He therefore caused his troops to advance. The Prussian hussars began the battle by overcoming the vanguard of the imperialists, commanded by the Saxon General Nostitz, whom they took prisoner. They thus obtained possession of the heights, and thereby masked the movements of their own troops. Prince Charles, deceived by these demonstrations, and thinking his right wing menaced, proceeded to strengthen it. He had hardly done so, when Frederic, who had made his dispositions unseen, suddenly attacked his left wing. In vain did Prince Charles, when it was too late, endeavour to prolong and strengthen his left wing; Ziethen, with his cavalry, acting in support of the Prussian infantry, threw it into complete disorder. At the same time the King of Prussia placed heavy cannons in front of his vanguard, which raked the whole Austrian line from left to right; while his centre continued to advance against the Austrian right. The Austrians were thus obliged to change their position, and to bring forward their right wing, while the left fell back in disorder. They now formed themselves on the heights of the village of Leuthen, from whence, after a long resistance, they were driven by the centre and left wing of the Prussians. In this attack the

* Vie de Frederic II. † 5th December, 1757.

king's guards distinguished themselves by the frequency and vigour of their charges.

Towards the end of the day, the Prussian General Driesen received orders to charge the enemy, with the cavalry of the left wing under his command. At the same moment, the dragoons of Bareith attacked the flank of the right wing, which still kept its ground behind the village of Leuthen. These simultaneous movements were crowned with the most complete success; and the battle of the plains of Lissa ended in the complete and entire defeat of the Austrians. The Prussians lost upon this occasion 5000 men killed and wounded; while the enormous losses of the Austrians amounted to 28,703. Of these 7400 were killed and wounded, and 21,300, as well as three generals, were taken prisoners: 117 cannons and fifty-one standards also fell into the hands of the victors.* When the combat was concluded, the King of Prussia cast his eyes over the field of battle, which was covered with the dead and dying, and exclaimed, while his eyes filled with tears, "When, oh when will my miseries cease!" He passed the night on the plain of Lissa, and on the spot where had previously been the head-quarters of Prince Charles. He was told of the many insulting things that had been said by the Austrians of him and his small army. "I pardon them readily," said he, "the follies they may have uttered, in consideration of those they have just committed."†

The following accounts of the battle of Lissa are given in letters,‡ written by Prince Henry of Prussia and Marshal Keith; neither of whom, it is true, were present at it, but both of whom must have had peculiarly good means of becoming acquainted with its details. It is also somewhat curious thus to have

* Grimoard, Tableau du Regne de Frederic le Grand.—Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

† Vie de Frederic II.

‡ Extracted from the MS. Correspondence of Field-marshal Keith.

an opportunity of comparing the relations of such eminent contemporaries with those that have come down to us from other sources. The letter of Prince Henry is addressed to Marshal Keith; that of the marshal to his brother Lord Marischal.

"Leipsic, 14th December, 1757.

"Sir,

"The relations I have received of the engagement of the 5th are as follows:—The enemies were posted beyond the river of Schweidnitz at Weesser, having the village of Leuthen exactly at their centre. Our army was formed in two lines, and the cavalry on the two wings. Six battalions were posted on our right, to cover the right flank of our cavalry. Eight or ten battalions of our right commenced the attack upon the left wing of the enemies, where were the troops commanded by Nadasti, and those of Wurtemberg and Bavaria. This wing was taken in flank, and while they thought we should attack their right wing. In consequence, all their batteries were ranged on that side, and it was necessary for them to change them, which they could not do quick enough; and thus our troops had time to beat them before their new batteries were formed. At the centre, near the village of Leuthen, all our army was exposed to their fire; however, our right, which had completely turned their left, decided the affair in our favour. Our cavalry is not much talked of, but I hear great praises of my hussars. Two generals were taken prisoners, and 160 officers; and some say 14,000 and some 12,000 men, and 130 cannons. General Ziethen has pursued them, and taken 2000 of their baggage-wagons, and a great quantity of ammunition. Our loss amounts to between 4000 and 5000 killed and wounded. Breslau is occupied by six battalions of the enemy, and some battalions of Croats. I should think, though, that by this time we were masters of it.

"Here you have, my dear marshal, the faithful relation of all I have heard respecting this event; from which I conclude that fortune, which has lately tossed us so much about, has not entirely turned her back upon us: I therefore still hope our affairs may go on well.

"I shall be charmed to send you good news as often as I can; and the interest you take in all that concerns us will render me the more anxious to give you all the proofs possible of the esteem and the friendship with which I am,

"Sir,
"Your very devoted
"Friend and servant,
"HENRY."

"Chemnitz, 16th Dec. 1757.

"My dear Brother,

"We give battles here as elsewhere people give operas; there have been three* in the last month, of which we have lost one and gained two; but the last appears to me decisive in our favour. I can assure you, that from all the accounts I have seen, the loss of the enemy has been immense. Cannons, equipages—all is taken; and in troops, either killed, taken prisoners, or deserted, they must have lost at least 20,000 men. There are, besides, nine battalions and many wounded shut up in Breslau, who it is impossible should escape from us. Luchesi is among them, who was wounded in the first battle, lost by the Prince of Bevern; but which was not very fatal on our side, as our killed and wounded did not exceed 1800 men. General Ziethen is still employed in pursuing the Austrians, and has written word to the king that he has found the greater part of their heavy artillery near Strehlen, and taken possession of it; but we do not yet know whether

* Rosbach, Breslau, and Liesa.

it is that belonging to their army, or that which they made use of at the siege of Schweidnitz. In short, the victory is complete; and costs us, as I hear, about 4000 men."

The day of the battle of Lissa, Ziethen and La Motte Fouquet advanced in pursuit of the fugitives as far as Sara, and on the succeeding ones pursued them as far as the frontiers of Bohemia; taking daily multitudes of prisoners, and baggage of all kinds, and military stores.* So great had become the panic and confusion of the Austrians, that during the pursuit a cornet of Ziethen's regiment, having with him only ten men, took prisoners, disarmed, and brought to head-quarters a party of 100 Austrians. For this gallant action he was promoted by the king to the rank of captain, and received the order of merit.†

On the 6th of December Frederic invested Breslau; and as soon as the heavy artillery arrived from Neisse and Brieg, began to batter the town, regardless of the severity of the season, which was peculiarly rigorous. In the course of the attack, a shell set fire to a magazine of powder under the rampart; a bastion was blown up and filled the ditch; and the commandant, General Sprecher, fearing a general assault, surrendered the town, and himself and his numerous garrison prisoners of war. This event delivered into the hands of the Prussians thirteen generals, 700 officers, and 17,536 soldiers prisoners. Forty-four cannons and four mortars were also taken.‡

The surrender of Breslau took place on the 19th of December, and on the 28th the Austrians gave up Liegnitz, which they had fortified very strongly.

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

† Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.—Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

They also abandoned the whole of Silesia, except the fortress of Schweidnitz, which the Prussians continued to blockade during the winter. Thus concluded the campaign of 1757, one of the most eventful of all those waged by Frederic, and in which the hopes his numerous enemies entertained of annihilating him were raised to the highest pitch. But although they had driven him to risk his fate in eight battles, and more than a hundred partial actions, they failed in their object. He was reserved for further trials and further glories. Voltaire, in summing up a sketch of the campaign of 1757, and speaking of the prowess of the King of Prussia, says, "Even Gustavus Adolphus never did such great things. One must, indeed, pardon him his verses, his sarcasms, and his little malices. All the faults of the man disappear before the glory of the hero!"* Frederic remained during the winter at Breslau, which he conceived to be the fittest spot for making preparations for the campaign which impended over him.

Various circumstances at this time concurred to strengthen the bonds of union between the Kings of Prussia and England. Mr. Pitt had obtained possession of power, with the place of secretary of state in the latter country, in June, 1757. His commanding abilities and comprehensive views infused vigour into the British cabinet. He saw at once the necessity of supporting Frederic, and forthwith acted upon it; and it was at this time that he made use of the well-known expression, "that America was to be conquered through Germany."† At the same time, the victories of the Prussian monarch had rendered him so popular in England, that his birthday was kept with honours similar to

* Mémoires pour servir à la Vie de M. de Voltaire.

† Memoirs by Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford.—Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

those in use for the sovereign of the country. The streets were illuminated for his victories, and his praises were sounded in both houses of parliament.* So great, indeed, was the enthusiasm in his favour, that it was proposed to raise subscriptions for him, to assist him in carrying on the war; and a maiden lady of Salisbury actually remitted to him by her banker 1000*l.* as a present.† The result of these feelings and opinions on the part of the people and the government of England was a fresh subsidiary treaty entered into with him, and approved by parliament; by which Great Britain was bound to furnish him yearly with a subsidy amounting to 670,000*l.*, and to send an army into Germany.

But though England was become more friendly to Prussia, the enmity of the rest of Europe towards that power was by no means diminished. Frederic therefore deemed it necessary to employ the commencement of the year 1758 in negotiations, by which he hoped to detach a portion at least of that gigantic and hostile league which was still banded against him. In conjunction with his Britannic ally, he endeavoured to neutralize the hostility of Russia. But the influence of the cabinet of Vienna at Petersburg was too strong for him; and the Empress Elizabeth continued still to be his bitter foe.‡ The Chancellor Bestuchef, who inclined to peace, was disgraced; and General Apraxin was arrested, on account of his retreat from Prussia. Bestuchef had been originally, as has been before stated, a decided enemy to Prussia. He had, however, changed his views upon this subject, in order to please the great duke, afterward emperor, who, as well as his wife, was favourably disposed to Frederic. It was in consequence of his measures and orders that Prussia had been so much spared

* Algarotti's Letters. † Gentleman's Magazine for 1758.
‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

during the last campaign. Finally, the two empresses, the court of France, and that of Poland became more united among themselves, and more hostile against Prussia than ever.*

CHAPTER V.

Military Proceedings during the Winter—Campaign of 1758—Successes of Prince Ferdinand—Army of the Circles—Frederic takes Schweidnitz—Frederic deceives Daun, and enters Moravia—He besieges Ollmutz—Letters of Marshal Keith—The Prussians retreat—Frederic marches against the Russians—The Swedes ravage the Prussian Territories—Burning of Custrin by Count Fermor—Battle of Zorndorf—The Russians retreat.

The plan of the King of Prussia for the ensuing campaign was to withdraw his troops from Prussia, which province he considered too distant to be defensible; to commence hostile operations in Silesia, before the Austrians could repair their losses, or the Russians pass the Vistula; to retake Schweidnitz; and to besiege Ollmutz, which had been made the principal station for provisioning and arming the Austrian armies.†

In the depth of winter, Count Fermor, the new Russian commander, invaded Prussia at the head of an army consisting of 110,000 men, took possession of the whole country, and obliged the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to the Empress Elizabeth. He placed garrisons in the Polish towns of Thorn and Elbing; and then, advancing to the Vistula, sent a detachment of 8000 Cossacks to lay waste Pomerania. The Prussian General Platen marched into Pomerania to observe the proceedings of the Russians; taking with him a detachment from

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
† Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

the army which, under the command of Count Dohna (who had succeeded Marshal Lehwald, worn out with age and infirmities), was blockading the Swedes in Stralsund.

The active commencement of the campaign in the real theatre of war, the centre of Germany, fell to the lot of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick; and to conduct it to a successful issue was an undertaking of no slight difficulty. He found himself at the head of 30,000 Hanoverian troops, but, on the other hand, opposed to 80,000 French, whom he was to strive to drive out of Lower Saxony and Westphalia, where they were posted. He first, with this view, sent a detachment to the Weser, which took possession of Verden; while another, under the command of his nephew the hereditary prince, afterward the celebrated Duke of Brunswick, seized upon Hoya. No sooner was the Count of Saint Germain made acquainted with these successes than he evacuated Bremen, where he had a garrison of twelve battalions; and joining these to the other troops under his command, consisting of fourteen battalions, he marched into Westphalia.*

Meanwhile, Prince Ferdinand, with the main body of his army, crossed the river Aller, and advancing straight to Minden, laid siege to that town. In his progress, his own guard surprised and took prisoners the regiment of Poleresky. This disaster, and the march of Prince Henry of Prussia towards Brunswick, completely disconcerted the French general, the Count of Clermont. Prince Henry had been employing himself in clearing the territory of Halberstadt of the French troops sent there by the Marshal de Richelieu, under the command of the Marquis de Voyer d'Argenson, whose ravages and cruelties had been of the most dreadful kind. The destruction of property also had been as wanton as it

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

was universal. As a proof of this, it is stated that it was D'Argenson's custom, when he had lodged in a house, but did not intend to remain in it, to destroy all the furniture, and to break in pieces the looking-glasses with a diamond. As soon as Prince Henry had delivered the country from these barbarians, he hastened to the support of Prince Ferdinand.

The Count of Clermont, upon this, broke up his camp, and forthwith determined upon evacuating, without delay, Brunswick Woolfenbuttle and Hanover. He detached M. de Broglio to the relief of Minden; but that general was unable to find any opportunity of attacking his enemies, and was therefore obliged to remain a spectator of the capitulation of the town, the garrison of which were taken prisoners of war. After this event, Broglio rejoined the Count of Clermont at Baderborn, and the army of the allies marched forward to Bielefeld. Again the French retreated, and abandoned possession of Lippstadt, Hamm, and Munster. Thus left without any possessions in Germany, Clermont repassed the Rhine at Wesel, and cantoned his troops on the other side of that river. Prince Ferdinand took up his quarters at Munster, and placed his troops in the villages of the neighbourhood, where he permitted them to rest after their fatigues. The allies took 11,000 prisoners during this short but glorious expedition, which only lasted from January to April; and which, as Frederic well observes, "may be compared to the admirable campaign of Turenne, when, penetrating by Thann and Befort, he surprised the imperialists, scattered in their quarters through Alsatia, and forced them to repass the Rhine."*

The Prince of Saxe-Hildbourghausen had given up the command of the army of the circles to the Prince Frederic of Deux-Ponts; and these troops, no longer acting in conjunction with the French,

* Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II.; par l'Abbé Denina.

were placed in communication with the forces of the Austrians, and advanced against the Prussians through Franconia and Bohemia. Prince Henry of Prussia, who was stationed in Saxony, received orders to keep them in check. This he effected by advancing as far as Zwickau and Hof, pushing his detachments even to Bamberg, and thus destroying their magazines.*

The King of Prussia did not commence his campaign till the middle of March. His first object was the successful conclusion of the siege of Schweidnitz, and with this view he forthwith changed the blockade of that place into an active attack upon it. He therefore stationed his army, which he commanded in person, as one of observation, to protect and cover the besiegers; while the General Treskow invested the town. The trenches were opened on the 2d of April; and the governor, the Count de Thürheim, capitulated, after a brave defence, on the 15th. The garrison, reduced from 8000 men to 5000, became prisoners of war.†

No sooner was Frederic in possession of Schweidnitz than he proceeded to put into execution the bold and able plan he had formed for the campaign. Daun, who this year had the sole command of the Austrian army, was still in his quarters near Kœnigsgratz, when, to his utter surprise, he heard that Frederic had marched into Moravia, the straight road to Vienna, and had commenced the siege of Ollmutz. In order to deceive Daun, and thus to get the start of him, Frederic had made the Generals Ziethen and Fouquet advance, with a portion of his army, through the county of Glatz to Braunau, as if menacing an irruption into Bohemia. Daun was completely taken in by this movement, and while the king was in the heart of Moravia, fully expected an attack from him in Bohemia. The object of the

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

king in this expedition is thus expressed by himself: —"His design was to penetrate into Moravia, and to take Ollmutz; not in order to keep the place, for he already foresaw the diversion which the Russians, who had taken possession of Prussia, were preparing to make in Pomerania and the Marches of Brandenburgh; but in order, during the whole campaign, to occupy the Austrians in a part of the country so distant from the territories of the King of Prussia, and thus to gain time and facilities, in the mean while, to oppose, with effect, the Russians."*

The siege of Ollmutz was intrusted to Marshal Keith, and commenced towards the end of May; while the king, with an army of observation, posted himself in the neighbourhood. No sooner had Marshal Daun discovered the destination of the Prussians than he left Kœnigsgratz, and marched towards Ollmutz. His intention was, not to hazard a battle, but to endeavour to throw succours into the town, at the same time cutting off the supplies of provisions and ammunition which the Prussians were obliged to bring, with considerable labour and difficulty, all the way from Silesia. The siege of Ollmutz continued during the whole of the month of June, but from various circumstances,—the errors committed by the Prussian engineer the Colonel Balby, and the bravery of the garrison and their commander the Baron Marshall,—little progress was made by the assailants.* The following extracts of letters† from Marshal Keith to his brother Lord Marischal will best convey an idea of the events of the siege, as well as of the causes which led to its conclusion:—

"From the camp before Ollmutz,
"28th May, 1758.

"We opened the trenches before Ollmutz last

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
‡ MS. Correspondence of Field-marshal Keith.

night, at 500 yards from the place, without losing a single man, the governor not having perceived what we were about till it was daylight, by which time we were already covered with our works. All this morning he has been firing, but not vigorously, and almost entirely with small cannons. If he does not increase his fire, I reckon in three days on being able to bring to bear upon the place twenty-four great guns and sixteen mortars. If we are lucky, I hope in four or five days more to extinguish a great part of his fire; for having the advantage of the ground over him, we see the inside of several of his works. On his side he does not spare labour. I see from the top of the house I am living in, that he is opening a battery on our right, in an island that you will see on the other side of the river.* We must therefore plant one to oppose him. Adieu, my dear brother."

From the camp before Ollmutz,
"14th June 1758.

"I have received my dear brother's letter of the 4th of May, and have shown it to the king, who was much pleased with the part relating to the canton of Berne.† The taking of Schweidnitz did not exactly occur in the way that it is reported. There was neither a breach, nor a piece of the wall fallen down; but a deserter gave information that the soldiers who were placed to guard a certain fort were all below in the casements, on account of the quantity of shells which we threw there. The resolution was, in consequence, taken to scale that part, which was done without resistance. The entrance of the casements was then taken possession of, and those within were obliged to beg for quarter. The possession of the fort remained to us; upon which the town, of which all the strength consists

* In the plans of Ollmutz which the marshal had sent to his brother

† Lord Marischal was at present residing at Neufchatel, in Switzerland, as governor for the King of Prussia.

in the forts which surround it, capitulated. We found fifty-one Austrian cannons in it, besides those we had ourselves left there. I wish I could also give you an account of the taking of Ollmutz; but the Baron de Marshall, who commands there, does not approve of my doing this immediately. He is a very brave old man, seventy-six years old, dexterous and experienced in this kind of warfare. He is in a very good place, provided with every thing that he wants, and having at his disposal all the cannons and ammunition destined for the siege of Neisse, provisions in great abundance, and an old engineer named M. de Rochepine, who assists him admirably in his defence. His garrison consists of eighteen battalions and three squadrons of dragoons, but there are a good many recruits among them. I see that, for the services of danger, he trusts principally to six Hungarian battalions who are with him; for in the three sorties he has made, hardly any one but Hungarians have appeared. In the last, he had given them a good dose of *aqua magnanimitatis*, as Lacy used to call it. They were all drunk, and in this state rushed into our batteries, and nailed up six pieces of cannon and three mortars, but so ill that four hours afterward all of them went off as well as before. Our people killed 100 of their soldiers, and five officers, with their bayonets; and we took an officer and forty-seven men prisoners. The deserters assure us, that with the wounded they have lost 300 men out of the 1200 of which the sortie consisted. In consequence, for the last three days they have attempted nothing. I tell you nothing of Prince Henry and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, because they are nearer you than us. All that we know is, that they are both in motion, to try and execute the projects they have concerted with the king. I am much obliged to you for all the good things you send me. I can only send you *plans* in return. By that of Ollmutz you will see

how far we are advanced; and as Wiedman did not send you that of Schweidnitz, I have begged Balby to make me one, which I will send you in my next letter. Many compliments to Mademoiselle Emété. You never tell me any thing of Ibrahim and Stepan. I should be glad to hear if they are still with you, and if they behave well. I believe I have already told you that Motscho was not with me at the affair of Rosbach. He was then ill of a fever at Leipsic. I like him very much; he is exceedingly attached to me; and as he gets older, he becomes more steady.

"The king, who covers our siege, came yesterday to see our lines, and to receive a hundred or two cannon shots. Lieutenant General Fouquet received a contusion on his thigh from a twelve-pounder; but it is not a dangerous wound. I see that the king will be glad to receive letters from you from time to time. You can send them enclosed in those to me. Adieu, my dearest brother. The Swiss officer's remedy against danger made me laugh heartily, and the king also. Fermor and Browne have not been recalled. You know the Russian generals sufficiently well to be aware that they are not anxious for commands where blows may be expected; so, probably, they will remain."

"Kœnigsgratz, 14th July, 1758.

"You must have already heard by the newspapers of the raising of the siege of Ollmutz; but as I am persuaded that many false circumstances will have been added to the detail of that event, I am going to relate the whole transaction to you, with that accuracy which you know I always adhere to. I must first allow that we had by no means a true idea of the strength of the place or of the garrison; and that, consequently, we had not brought with us enough ammunition to take it. This obliged the king to order a great convoy from Silesia, under an escort of eight battalions of infantry, and of about

1100 horse. The enemies, who perceived that every thing depended upon the arrival of this convoy, and who, being in their own country, were well informed of every step we took, collected several small bodies of men, which had already been posted in the mountains behind us with the view of cutting off our communication with Silesia. With these they attacked our convoy on the 27th of June, but were repulsed with the loss of 200 or 300 men.

"As soon as I heard of this, I sent Lieutenant-general Ziethen, with five battalions of grenadiers (not very strong ones I allow) and three regiments of cavalry and hussars, to meet the convoy, which was already within three leagues of us. The day after (the 28th), the attack was recommenced by the enemies, with the same troops as the day before. But while Ziethen was occupied in repulsing them both in front and rear of the convoy, for they had attacked both parts at once, General St. Ignon arrived with 4000 grenadiers and 3000 dragoons, and fell upon the centre; so that our forces and convoy were divided into two parts, one of which arrived at the camp, but the other was destroyed; and Ziethen, who was in the rear, was obliged to return to Troppau with whatever scattered troops he could collect. You will readily perceive, that after the loss of our ammunition it was impossible to take any other part than that of raising the siege, which we did on the morning of the 2d of July. I was obliged to leave a single cannon and five mortars behind us, which are the only trophies the enemy has to boast of; for I brought away with me all the sick and wounded, except twenty-two who were actually dying.

"As soon as the siege was raised, the king resolved to quit Moravia, as all the provisions in it, both for men and horses, had been consumed during the two months we had been there. He determined to march into Bohemia, where we hoped to find a

fresh country. We arrived here without any difficulty from the enemies, except that the day before yesterday Laudon and St. Ignon, with a corps of 10,000 men, wished to make an attack upon the baggage of the troops under my command. Instead of succeeding, however, they left behind them about 500 dragoons, either killed or taken prisoners, and only got possession of four or five carts of flour. My health has been very feeble ever since the month of April. The fever pursues me; but I cannot tell you what sort of fever it is, as there is nothing regular about it. The gout also takes its part, and at one time fixed itself in my right foot: but it has since risen into the body, where it gives me great pain. I have need of repose, but our situation does not permit me to hope for it for some time, so I mus drag myself along as well as I can. Adieu, my dearest brother. I will try to send you news of myself as often as I can."

It was to General Laudon,* who afterward, during the course of the war, so much distinguished himself, that Daun had intrusted the attack of the Prussian convoy. Besides the destruction of the greater part of the convoy, 600 of the Prussians were taken prisoners, among whom was the General Putkammer.

During the siege the king had frequently expressed himself dissatisfied with the way in which the place was invested by Balby, who seems, in truth, to have committed many errors. This dis-

* Gideon Ernest Baron de Laudon, of a family originally Scotch, was born in 1716, in Livonia. He made his first campaigns in the service of Russia, under Marshal Munich. In 1740 he quitted the service of Russia, and entered that of Austria, where he finally rose to the highest military honours. He was one of the ablest and most distinguished generals opposed to Frederic, over whom he sometimes gained great advantages. He died, while commanding the imperial army against the Turks, at Neustichen, 7th July 1790.

satisfaction rendered him unreasonably harsh in his manner to the individual engineers and miners whom he had occasion to accost in the trenches. Upon one occasion he was peculiarly so to an officer, a captain of artillery; and having reprimanded him severely, he concluded by ordering him to quit his service. Upon this, the officer quitted the trenches and walked away; but the king called him back, and said to him, "You may stay till the siege is over, and then you may go."—"I am obliged to your majesty," replied he, "for giving me an opportunity of losing an arm or a leg before I leave your service; but I shall stand in need of both, to save your majesty the expense of having me carried out of your territories." Frederic smiled at the officer's answer, which restored him to good-humour; and he sent him back to his post, at the same time ordering him a gratuity.*

As soon as Frederic was convinced of the impossibility of bringing the siege of Ollmutz to a successful issue, he determined to leave Moravia with the same celerity he had entered it, and try what advantage he could gain over Daun by again forestalling him. With this intention, he carefully concealed from the Austrians his design. The day before the Prussians left their camp, the firing against Ollmutz was continued as vigorously as ever. But at night, on the 1st of July, the whole army took the road to Bohemia, divided into two columns, one of which was commanded by the king in person, and the other by Marshal Keith. The Prussians, by this secret manœuvre, gained a whole day's march over their adversaries, and were enabled to continue their march to Kœnigsgratz with hardly any molestation; having seized by the way, at Leitomischel, a large Austrian convoy. General Lacy, at one moment, it

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

is true, endeavoured to harass the rear-guard of the king's forces; and at another, General St. Ignon made an attack upon that of Marshal Keith; but both attempts were repulsed with loss.*

On the 11th of July, the king arrived at Kœnigsgratz, with all his sick, wounded, baggage, artillery, and military stores. Of this important post he made himself master, after driving from it the 7000 men, commanded by Baron Bucco, which were placed there for its defence. All this was done before Daun was aware of Frederic's design, and "while he could not even suspect that he had driven him from a siege to a conquest."†

The king's first care was to get rid of the heavy baggage and artillery he had brought from Ollmutz; and General Fouquet was sent with a detachment to convey it to Glatz, which was happily executed. When all these dispositions were completed, Daun appeared with his army on the other side of the Elbe, on the 22d of July. As Frederic himself observes, "if the Austrians had been now the only persons in question, the campaign might easily have been concluded without leaving Bohemia. But the invasion with which the Russians menaced Pomerania and the New March of Brandenburgh obliged the king to march his troops into Silesia, in order to convey assistance to those points which were the most in need of it."‡

Frederic left the Margrave Charles of Brandenburgh, with a part of the troops, to cover Silesia, and set off himself at the head of 20,000 men, to make head against the Russians. He commenced his rapid march on the 25th of July. At first his course was harassed by parties of the Austrian troops; but as, in the different skirmishes which en-

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
† Memoirs by Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford.
‡ Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

sued, the Prussians had the advantage, this obstacle was soon abated.* On the 22d of August, he arrived at Frankfort on the Oder, and remained there some hours. As he stood on the steps of the house where he intended to sup, and the troops were marching by him, the shots of the bombardment of Custrin were heard distinctly. A letter of the time, and from an eyewitness, says, "I observed that the king took a pinch of snuff as the sound of each discharge reached him; and even through that air of intrepidity which never abandons this prince, I could perceive the sensations of pity towards that unfortunate town, and an eager impatience to fly to its relief."† At two in the morning he continued his march, and the following day (August 23d), having crossed the river two leagues below Frankfort, he effected his junction with Count Dohna and his troops.

That general had been obliged to raise the blockade of Stralsund, and to march against the Russians. The Swedish commander, Hamilton, took advantage of his absence to levy contributions upon the districts called the Uker March, the county of Ruppin, and Prignitz. Dohna, in spite of the smallness of his forces, drove Romanzof, who had been sent forward by Count Fermor, the Russian general, into Pomerania, back to the main body of the Russian army near Frankfort on the Oder.‡ Fermor had intended at Frankfort to pass the Oder, and to invade the electoral march of Brandenburgh: but Dohna prevented him by means of forced marches; and Fermor, disappointed, retired to Landsberg, detached Romanzow with 10,000 men to Schwedt, and invested the fortress of Custrin, the town attached to which he reduced to ashes. Many of the inhabitants were burnt in their houses, or buried in the ruins of

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III. † *Ibid*
Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

them. At this juncture Frederic arrived with his reinforcements. As soon as Fermor was aware of the king's approach, and of his junction with Dohna, he left Custrin, and marching towards the Prussians, who were encamped at a village called Dermitzel, formed his army into an oblong square, within sight of them.

This happened on the 24th of August; and the king, on seeing the Russians, determined to attack them the next day in spite of the inequality of numbers; his own army consisting only of 30,000 men, opposed to 50,000. Nothing could exceed the ardour of the Prussians for the conflict; the sight of the devastations and cruelties practised upon their country and their countrymen by the barbarous Russians had excited their enmity to the highest pitch. These feelings were participated in by Frederic, and caused him to give an order for which even the miseries he saw his subjects suffering under can be no excuse. He commanded no quarter to be given, which injunction, however, was not eventually strictly adhered to. Along the line of the army was heard the cry, "The Prussians give no quarter."—"Nor do we," answered the Russians.*

The two armies were only separated by a marshy stream, called the Mutzel. During the night the King of Prussia posted his vanguard in a wood on the other side of the stream. He was thus enabled, the next morning, to turn the troops composing the right wing of Fermor, and to attack them in the rear. At the same time the Prussian artillery, consisting of eighty great cannons, did great execution among the Russian ranks.† In spite, however, of these dispositions, the right wing of the Russians threw the body of troops who were opposed to them into confusion; and the Cossacks, having set fire to the village of Zorndorf, near which the artillery

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

was stationed, added to the embarrassment. General Seidlitz, however, by the valour of his cavalry, succeeded at length in repulsing that of the Russians, and then attacked their infantry.

At this period of the action Frederic caused the infantry of his right wing to advance to the attack, who were received with the most determined resistance by the enemy. The carnage now became dreadful. The Russians were animated with the feelings of despair; the Prussians with those of vengeance for the cruelties which had been practised upon their country. Even soldiers in the agonies of death thought more of inflicting torments on their enemies than of their own sufferings. A wounded Russian was seen extended over a dying Prussian, himself so disabled that he could not make use of his arms, but he was occupying his last moments with tearing his enemy's flesh with his teeth! Some Prussians who witnessed this killed the cannibal, and thus allowed their countryman to die in peace. The king in person led the last attacks, and was so much exposed to the fire of the Russians, that his aids-de-camp and his pages, who attended him, were all either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. At length, at nightfall, the Russians began to give way, and abandoned the victory and the field of battle to the Prussians.*

From the moment the fortune of the day appeared decided, the confusion of the Russians became excessive; great numbers of them plundered their own baggage, and then getting drunk with the brandy and other spirits they had thus seized upon, they rushed into the mélée, attacking whatever, whether of friends or foes, came in their way. Some of these disorderly troops remained on the field of battle all night, which gave occasion to Fermor to claim the victory; in spite of the results which so clearly

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

proved it to have fallen to the Prussians, and in spite of his own request, of itself a confession of being worsted, for permission to bury the Russian dead.* Fermor had the weakness, in pursuance of this claim, to send couriers to the different allied powers and their armies, announcing his imaginary success. As an historian of these times truly remarks, "Never was this species of deceit more frequently practised than during the seven years' war. The Prussians alone despised such conduct. When beaten, they allowed it, in the hope of causing their loss to be forgotten in some future exploit. So acted Frederic, and so acted those who commanded his armies. They left to the vanquished the pleasure of deceiving themselves with illusions, and of rejoicing over false news, while they employed themselves in really profiting by the victory."† After the combat was concluded, Frederic had the greatness of mind to offer his thanks publicly to General Seidlitz, as the victor of the day, and to attribute the success of it entirely to his valour and conduct.

The battle of Zorndorf cost the Prussians 10,000 men killed and wounded, and the Russians 18,600. 2800 of their troops and six generals were also taken prisoners, and they lost 104 cannons and thirty-two standards. Daun, who had been anxious that Fermor should occupy the attention of the King of Prussia without coming to any decided engagement, had written to him, "not to risk a battle with a wily enemy, whose cunning and resources he was not yet acquainted with; but to temporize always, till the Austrian army had struck a successful blow in Saxony." The courier who carried this despatch was seized by a Prussian detachment. After the battle of Zorndorf, the king answered it himself in the following words:—"You had reason to advise General Fermor to be on his guard against a crafty and

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans. † *Ibid.*

designing enemy, whom you were better acquainted with than he was, for he has given battle, and he has been beat."*

The next day† the Russians rallied, and formed themselves into an oblong square near the wood of Drewitz. During the day many skirmishes took place between the Prussian hussars and the Cossacks. The former had obtained possession of the Russian baggage, which had been separated from the main body of the army by the combat of the preceding day. 5000 baggage carts were plundered by the Prussian light troops, who were, at one moment, driven off by the Cossacks, and then the latter began plundering the baggage of their own army, in their turn. Finally, however, the Prussians had the best of the contest.

The following night the Russians again changed their position, and on the subsequent days, to the 1st of September inclusive, they retreated from one position to another; many skirmishes taking place, and the Prussians always pursuing them. On the 1st of September they arrived at Landsberg, where they were joined by Romanzof, returning from Schwedt; while the Prussians posted themselves at a village called Blumberg.

It is said that the evening before the battle of Zorndorf, Frederic sent for a literary man, who was at that time in his suite, and occupied himself with him for some time in correcting and altering the strophes of an ode by John Baptist Rousseau, which he thought were susceptible of amelioration.‡ This anecdote, if true, savours too much of a vain display of calmness and freedom of thought, in a moment of such anxious danger as the eve of a battle, to be mentioned with any praise. But it is at least curious, as illustrating the character of the man, and his power of self-control. When the king came, after

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
† August the 26th. ‡ Vie de Frederic II.

the battle, to Custrin, he seemed much affected at the ruin and desolation of the town, and said to the inhabitants, who crowded around him, "My children, I could not come to you sooner, or this calamity should not have happened. Have a little patience, though, and I will cause every thing to be rebuilt." The commandant of Custrin was supposed not to have adopted judicious measures for its defence. When he saw the king, he endeavoured to apologize for his conduct, but Frederic stopped him, saying, "I make no complaints against you; it is myself who am to blame, for having appointed you to such a post."*

The Russians in their retreat laid siege to Colberg, and bombarded it cruelly; but it was too well defended by the brave Prussian governor Heyden for them to obtain possession of it.† Finding their efforts unavailing to obtain any advantage, and having so completely devastated Pomerania and the new march of Brandenburgh that they could no longer subsist in these provinces, they finally evacuated them at the end of October; and Count Dohna, who had been left by the King of Prussia at the head of 12,000 men to watch their movements, was enabled to turn his attention to other enemies.‡

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.
† Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
‡ Campagnes de Frederic II., par Mr. de W.

CHAPTER VI.

Frederic endeavours to join Prince Henry, but is prevented by Daun and Laudon—Battle of Hochkirchen—Retreat of the King of Prussia—Death of Marshal Keith—Death of the Margravine of Bareith—Junction of Prince Henry with Frederic—The Austrians raise the Siege of Neisse—Daun besieges Dresden—Campaign of Prince Ferdinand—Treaty between France and Austria—The Swedes unsuccessful in Pomerania—Prince Henry enters Bohemia during the Winter—Preparations for the Campaign of 1759.

Frederic, almost immediately after the victory of Zorndorf, marched rapidly towards Saxony to assist his brother, Prince Henry, who was carrying on the contest under overwhelming disadvantages.* The Prince of Deux-Ponts, who commanded the army of the empire, assisted by a body of Austrian troops, had obliged that prince to retreat to the neighbourhood of Dresden. At this moment Daun arrived in Lusatia, and, having detached Laudon against the King of Prussia, advanced himself to form a junction with the Prince of Deux-Ponts. The latter had allowed himself to be occupied with the siege of Sonnenstein near Pirna, which he took on the 5th of September; but which caused him to lose the most favourable moment for attacking the Prussians.† Even after the arrival of Daun, the two generals employed themselves in visits and conferences which led to no useful purpose; till at length Daun, hearing of the approach of the King of Prussia, separated again from the army of the empire, and marched to the assistance of Laudon. As soon as he had joined him, their united army encamped near Weissemberg, with a view of preventing Frederic

* Campagnes de Frederic II., par Mr. de W.
† Grimoard Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

from entering Silesia, and disturbing the sieges of Neisse and Cosel, which were prosecuting by two Austrian generals.*

Frederic, however, continued to advance; and after various manœuvres, of which the object was to continue his march in spite of the opposition of Daun and Laudon, on the 10th of October took up his position near the village of Hochkirchen. The previous successes of Frederic with greatly inferior numbers had made him over-confident; and this feeling was increased by his conviction of the excessive caution and want of boldness of his enemy Daun. The consequence was a degree of rashness in his own conduct upon the present occasion which might have proved fatal to him; and did, as it was, entail a very severe punishment on his presumption.† In the persuasion that Daun would never have the courage to disturb him, he posted his army too near that of the Austrians; and in a position in which the latter, who were possessed of the wooded heights under which the Prussian right wing was placed, would have no difficulty in attacking him suddenly, and when he was unprepared for them.

When he was about to occupy this disadvantageous post, Marshal Keith, who was with him, remonstrated against the step, and said, "If the enemies leave us quiet here they deserve to be hanged."—"Rest assured," answered the king, with confidence, "they will have a greater fear of us than of the gallows."‡ Frederic, however, was aware of the dangerous nature of his position, and intended to quit it as soon as he had obtained forage and provisions for his troops. He had fixed his departure for the night of the 14th and 15th. Had he arranged it for an earlier day, he would have saved the lives of many brave men, and, above all, that of the un-

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
‡ Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Deréna

fortunate Marshal Keith himself. In the MS. collection of letters of that general, which have already been extracted from, the last is one addressed to his brother Lord Marischal, written only the day before the fatal battle of Hochkirchen. As from this circumstance it possesses a peculiar interest, and is besides of value, as giving a clear account of the state of the campaign, it is here inserted.

"From Hochkirch near Lobau,
12th October, 1758.

"I received two days ago two letters from my dearest brother; one of the 10th of August, the other of the 10th of September. In one of them there was a letter for the king, which I delivered immediately. You see by the newspapers that the Russians continue always to claim for themselves the victory in the late battle.* I wish them, with all my heart, such another victory; for you may rest assured that their loss in that one was at least 25,000 men. I must, however, do them justice; they fought very well, especially their infantry, which threw the king's left wing into the greatest confusion, and was the cause that the victory was not more decisive. But if they gained the battle, why have they profited so little by it? since, instead of advancing, they have retreated behind Stargard; though the king was obliged to return here with all the troops which had marched with him. It was, indeed, time that he should do this, for Prince Henry began to be very much pressed by the two armies of Daun and the Prince of Deux-Ponts. He is now in a better situation; for the king has obliged Marshal Daun to quit his position of Stolpe, and, consequently, his communication with the Elbe, and to retire towards Zittau, where we have pursued him step by step, but without ever having had an opportunity of engaging a combat. He remains always

* Of Zorndorf.

among the mountains, and encamps in places so inaccessible that it would be the greatest act of rashness to attack him. And it is only by secret marches that one can draw him out from his position. It was by a march of this kind that we turned his right flank, and thus obliged him to abandon his camp at Stolpe. *Now* the devil has sent him to the top of the hill near Lobau, and we must try and contrive some means of drawing him out from thence, or he will stay there till the snows drive him away. It is true that this would not be a peculiarly great evil; for we are now placed so that he cannot receive anything from Saxony, and that he is obliged to bring all his provisions, &c., from Bohemia, which is behind him. One sees clearly that his intention is not to give battle, but that he wants to live as long as he can at the expense of Saxony, and so save Bohemia for his winter-quarters. On our side we wish to prevent his foraging in Saxony, because we mean to winter there. Here you have the secret of the rest of this campaign, which, according to all appearance, cannot be long; for it is already as cold as if we were in the month of December, on account of the nearness of the mountains, from whence, by-the-way, it is not possible to draw this tiresome man, in spite of all he must suffer there. For we see by the desertion that he must suffer a great deal; for in a single night we have had a hundred and fifty deserters come to us from his army, and not a day passes that there do not come thirty or forty. Make many compliments from me to the dear chancellor. I am as anxious for peace as he can be; for my health can no longer sustain the fatigues of war, especially in the way we are now obliged to make it against so many enemies, whom we are forced each campaign to run after from one end of Germany to the other."*

* MS. Correspondence of Field-marshal Keith.

On the night of the 13th and 14th of October Daun determined upon attacking the Prussians. With this intention he sent a detachment under Laudon to fall upon their right wing, which, as has been before stated, was commanded by a wooded height in the possession of the Austrians. Nothing was ever less expected than this attack, for Daun had contrived to lull the Prussians into complete security. He employed a part of his troops in cutting down trees, as if to fortify the position he occupied; but his object in this was, by the noise thus made (the soldiers being also desired to sing loudly at their work), to prevent the Prussians from hearing any thing of the approach of the detachment under the command of Laudon.*

In order also to diminish the sound of their march, each dragoon carried a grenadier on his horse behind him, who at the moment of the onset was to dismount and join his comrades.† The design of Daun was also facilitated by a thick fog which hung over the heights. As the church clock of the village of Hochkirchen struck five, Laudon led on his troops to the attack, and before the dawn of day he was in possession of the Prussian batteries, and of the post of Hochkirchen. As soon as it was light, the infantry formed themselves in battle array in the middle of the Prussian camp. At the same time, the Duke of Aremberg, who commanded the right wing of Daun's army, profited by the confusion to attack with success the left wing of the King of Prussia. Frederic by degrees succeeded in rallying the infantry of his right wing, and drove the enemy from Hochkirchen; while his cavalry dislodged several times that of the Austrians, and made a great havoc among their grenadiers. But in spite of the greatest display of valour, it was impossible for the Prussians ever entirely to get over the disasters of the night,

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Campagnes de Frederic II., Roi de Prusse, par Mr. de W

and especially the loss of their artillery. The infantry of Daun, supported as it was by a destructive artillery and constant reinforcements of fresh troops, became at length irresistible. After supporting eight successive onsets, the Prussians were obliged to abandon the hope of retaking their camp. The battle had lasted about five hours, when Frederic withdrew his army and retired to Doberchutz, about half a league from the field of battle.*

His retreat in good order in the face of the victorious enemy, and with very little artillery to cover his troops, is held by military tacticians to have been a movement as masterly as it was successful. As the Prussian baggage and camp had been taken possession of by the Austrians early in the day, the troops had nothing to cover them but the clothes they had on, and no tents to defend them from the rigorous inclemency of the weather. They had neither powder nor ball; and had they been forced again to fight, they must, after the ancient manner, have singled out each his opponent, and contended in close combat. But the position of the King of Prussia's new camp was so well chosen, and his troops, though beaten, were so formidable, that Daun did not venture to risk a second attack; though Frederic remained ten days in the same position, without fortifying himself. The loss of the Prussians in the battle of Hochkirchen, in addition to their artillery (consisting of 101 cannons) and baggage, amounted to 5500 killed, wounded, and prisoners, and thirty standards. That of the Austrians to 5800 killed, wounded, and prisoners. Prince Francis of Brunswick had his head taken off by a cannon ball; Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau was wounded and taken prisoner; and most of the other generals were wounded.†

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.—Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

But the great loss of the day on the side of the Prussians was that of the veteran Marshal Keith. It was under his especial command that the Prussians had so often retaken the village of Hochkirchen. During the whole action he always rallied his troops in person, and exposed himself to the hottest fire.* At about eight o'clock he received a dangerous wound, but refused to quit the field. At nine, a second shot in his breast killed him. He fell speechless into the arms of Tibay, an English volunteer, who had attended him during the whole campaign. His body was afterward stripped by the Austrian stragglers, and lay undistinguished among the slain. It had been carried with many others into the little church of the village of Hochkirchen, where it lay with a Croat's cloak over it. Marshal Daun, accompanied by General Lacy and other officers, happened to enter the church. Lacy approached the body, and having removed the cloak, he regarded it with great emotion, and then said, "It is my father's best friend, Keith." The old Marshal Lacy and Keith had served together in the Russian army, and the younger Lacy had been a pupil of the latter; and he recognised the body from the scar of a dangerous wound on the thigh, which the marshal had received at the siege of Oczakow. At the sight of his old master, a naked and deserted corpse, Lacy burst into tears; nor could Daun and the other persons present refrain from a similar display of feeling. While they were thus contemplating all that remained of this distinguished warrior, a Croat made his appearance, dressed in the uniform, star, and riband of the marshal. Daun asked him how he came by these. "I took them," answered he, "from the fellow who lies yonder, whom I killed and stripped; and have given him my cloak in return." Marshal Daun forthwith gave orders that the body of Keith

* Smollett's History of England.

should be interred with military honours;* and he had the satisfaction, when the next day he received a letter from the King of Prussia, requesting him to give honourable burial to his deceased friend, of being able to answer that he had already performed that pious duty.†

The king had been himself exposed to great dangers during the battle. He was slightly wounded in his own person, had a horse killed under him, and two of his pages close to him. At one moment he was enveloped by a party of the enemy in the village of Hochkirchen, and nearly taken prisoner; but was delivered by the valour of some hussars who accompanied him.‡

The defeat of his army was not the only misfortune which befell the King of Prussia upon the 14th of October, 1758; for on that very day expired his favourite sister, the Margravine of Bareith, for whom he had ever entertained the liveliest sentiments of affection. He thus alludes to the loss in his History of the War:—"The Margravine of Bareith was a princess of rare merit: she possessed an understanding cultivated and adorned with various sorts of knowledge, a genius fit for any thing, and a peculiar talent for all the arts and sciences. These fortunate gifts of nature formed, however, the least part of her merits. The goodness of her heart, her generous and benevolent intentions, the nobleness and elevation of her soul, the sweetness of her disposition, caused a union in her of the brilliant advantages of talent with a foundation of solid virtue, which never altered. She often experienced the ingratitude of those she had overwhelmed with benefits

* About the year 1776 a monument to the memory of Field-marshal Keith was erected in the church of Hochkirchen by his relation Sir Robert Keith, then envoy from England at the court of Vienna.

† Wraxall's Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna.

‡ Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.—Archenholz. Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

and favours, but there was never any instance of her having herself failed in a similar manner. The most tender, the most constant friendship united the king and his excellent sister. These bonds of affection were formed in their earliest infancy; and the same education and the same sentiments had drawn them still closer; while a fidelity on both sides which was proof against every thing had rendered them indissoluble. The princess, whose health was feeble, was rendered so unhappy at the dangers which menaced her family, that her anxiety completed the ruin of her health. A dropsy at length declared itself; the remedies of the physicians who attended her could not save her; but she died on the 14th of October, with a courage and a firmness of mind worthy of the most intrepid philosopher. This happened on the same day on which the king was beaten at Hochkirchen by the Austrians. The Romans would not have failed to attribute a fatality to this day, on account of the two blows which fell upon the king at the same moment."*

Frederic's letter to Voltaire upon the occasion is a touching one:—"It will have been easy for you to conceive my grief, when you reflect upon the loss I have had. There are some misfortunes which are reparable by constancy and courage; but there are others against which all the firmness with which one can arm one's self, and all the reasonings of philosophers, are only vain and useless attempts at consolation. Of the latter kind is the one with which my unhappy fate overwhelms me, at a moment the most embarrassing and the most anxious of my whole life. I have not been ill, as you heard; my only complaints are colics, sometimes hemorrhoidal and sometimes nephritic. If it had depended upon me, I would willingly have devoted myself to that death which those maladies sooner or later

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

bring upon one, in order to save and prolong the life of her whose eyes are now closed. I beseech you never to forget her, and collect all your powers to raise a monument to her honour. You need only do her justice; and without in any way abandoning the truth, she will afford you an ample and beautiful subject. I wish you more repose and happiness than falls to my lot.—FREDERIC."* In consequence of the wish expressed in this letter, and repeated in some subsequent ones, Voltaire consecrated an ode to the memory of the princess.

The defeat of Hochkirchen was undoubtedly a great calamity to Frederic; but, at all events, it proved satisfactorily two things which in their consequences must have somewhat counterbalanced the losses of the day. First, it convinced the world of the vast advantages of the Prussian discipline. Here was an army surprised by night in a fog, and encamped on a spot commanded by that occupied by their assailants. Nothing but the admirable perfection of the Prussian discipline, which added coolness to courage in the hour of the greatest difficulty, could have prevented their whole army from being cut to pieces before they were able to form themselves into even an attitude of resistance. Secondly, it showed to the whole of Europe that the military talents of the King of Prussia were as great in adversity as in prosperity; that he knew as well how to perform the most scientific military evolutions in the midst of an unexpected and unpropitious engagement, and how to conduct a successful retreat in the face of a victorious enemy, as to rush with valour, in the full expectation of victory, upon a hostile army.

The news of the victory of Hochkirchen was received with transports of joy by the court of Vienna; and its having happened on the day of St. Theresa, the fête of the empress-queen, was looked upon as

* Correspondence de Voltaire avec le Roi de Prusse

a good omen by the bigoted Catholics. The pope,* who appears to have thought that the King of Prussia would be crushed by the disaster, in the true spirit of the court of Rome, came forward to show his attachment to the victorious side. He sent a laudatory letter to Marshal Daun, together with a sword and hat, both blessed by himself. Frederic from this time was accustomed in his correspondence to call Daun, in derision, "the blessed general," and "the man with the papal cap."†

While Frederic was encamped near Doberchultz, his brother, Prince Henry, joined him with a reinforcement of 6000 men.‡ As soon as the king saw that Daun, instead of attacking him and endeavouring to profit by his victory, remained inactive, he said to his brother, "Daun has thrown up his cards; so the game is not yet lost. Let us repose ourselves for some days, and then go to the assistance of Neisse." Accordingly, on the night of the 24th and 25th of October, the Prussians marched round the right wing of Daun's army without being discovered, and so advanced towards Neisse. This movement obliged the Austrian general Harsch to raise the siege of that place, and General Deville that of Cosel.§

Daun, meanwhile, had been so confident of the impossibility that existed for the King of Prussia to escape him, that he wrote thus to General Harsch "Go on quietly with your siege. I have the king within my grasp. He is cut off from Silesia, except by attacking me; and if he does that, I hope to give you a good account of what happens."‖

There is an anecdote related of the wife of the

* Clement XIII. (Rezzonico). He had succeeded this year to Benedict XIV. (Lambertini), one of the best in the whole series of Roman pontiffs.

† Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic le Grand, par l'Abbé Denina.

‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

§ Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

‖ Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

governor of Neisse, Madame de Treskow, which is so highly honourable to her that it ought not to be omitted. Archenholz, who tells it, says he received it from the Baron d'Eichberg, the Austrian officer who himself gave occasion to it. Madame de Treskow was living on her husband's small estate near Neisse, when Eichberg was sent to her to offer her and her husband any advantages which the court of Vienna could bestow upon them, if Treskow would give up Neisse to the imperial troops. Treskow had been lately a prisoner of war at Vienna, where both he and his wife had received many civilities and kindnesses from the empress, the recital of which was made use of by Eichberg as a means of opening the negotiation, as well as an earnest of future favours. Very different, however, was the reception of the proposal from that which the Austrian emissary had hoped for. The idea of encouraging her husband thus to betray his country excited in Madame de Treskow the liveliest indignation: "Is it possible," replied she, "that such a proposition should have been made *to me?*" In vain did the officer attempt to calm her. So great was her horror of those who could have imagined such a scheme, that she resolved not to remain longer among them, but to go and share the dangers of the siege with her husband. When she abandoned her house and estate, where she had previously intended to have remained, she said to Eichberg, "We are poor, and this is all we possess. Forced by my regard for honour and patriotism, I leave it in your hands; if you choose to take your revenge, you can." The officer, moved even to tears at her noble devotion, implored her to change her resolution, but in vain: she set off for the fortress the same night; and all that Eichberg could obtain from her was the permission to accompany her, and see her safe through the Austrian army, and to the gate of Neisse.*

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans

Thus did the advantages which might have been expected to result to the Austrians from the action at Hochkirchen end in the triumph of their enemies, through the boldness and skill of the King of Prussia, and the too great circumspection and want of enterprise of Daun. It is true, the latter commander, as soon as he discovered that the Prussians had escaped him, sent General Laudon with a strong detachment to harass their march. But although Laudon showed great dexterity in this service, and was enabled to throw many difficulties in their way, he neither succeeded in stopping them nor in preventing their relieving the besieged towns. These successes of the Prussians were followed by several smaller ones, obtained by the Generals Golz and Werner over the enemies in Upper Silesia; whom they finally succeeded in driving out of that part of the province.*

Marshal Daun had, meanwhile, marched towards Dresden, and seized upon the strong camp of Pirna, which was occupied by General Finck and a small detachment of Prussians, who were, however, unable to make head against the superior forces of the Austrians. Upon the approach of Daun to the Saxon capital, General Itzenplitz, who commanded the Prussian troops in the absence of Prince Henry, retired under the cannon of the town.† On the 10th of November, Daun attacked the suburbs, which Count Schmettau, the Prussian governor, was compelled to burn. The children of the King of Poland were in Dresden, and the fear of injuring them prevented Daun from urging his attacks as vigorously as he would otherwise have done. This gave time to the King of Prussia to arrive from Silesia; and upon his approach the Austrians retired, and took up their winter-quarters in Bohemia.‡

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

When Daun commenced the siege of Dresden, he had sent the army of the circles against Torgau and Leipsic. The detachment intended against the former was commanded by the Prince of Deux-Ponts; that against the latter by the Marshal Haddick. General Wedel, who had driven the Swedes out of the March of Brandenburgh, marched against Haddick, and obliged him to raise the siege of Torgau; while Count Dohna, who arrived from Pomerania, having united his troops to those of Wedel, beat Haddick near Eulenbourg, and then drove the Prince of Deux-Ponts away from Leipsic.

Thus, at the close of the campaign, the Prussians, in spite of their overwhelming disaster at Hochkirchen, were enabled to compel their enemies to abandon the sieges of Colberg, Cosel, Neisse, Dresden, Torgau, and Leipsic.* They even evacuated also the fortress of Sonnenstein, which they had taken. And the Prussians thus still found themselves masters of Silesia, Saxony, and Pomerania; all of which provinces had, however, been much laid waste. Prince Henry again took the command of the army in Saxony, and the king returned to Breslau.†

It is necessary, before concluding the account of the military operations of this year, to cast a rapid glance at the latter part of the campaign of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. That general, after driving the French army, commanded by the Count of Clermont, out of Germany, as has been before related, himself passed the Rhine early in the month of June, at a place called Emmerich; and, continuing to advance, came up with the enemies on the 23d of the same month, near Crevelt, where he obtained a complete victory over them. This was followed by some other partial successes: by the taking of Ruremonde by the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who

* Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.
† Möller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

even pushed his detachments as far as the gates of Brussels, and by that of Dusseldorf. Wesel, where the French had a very numerous garrison, would probably have fallen; but Prince Ferdinand was obliged to repass the Rhine, in consequence of the advantages obtained by the Prince of Soubise, in Hesse, over the Prince of Ysenbourg, whom Prince Ferdinand had left there at the head of 7000 men.*

On the 14th of August, Prince Ferdinand effected his junction with 12,000 English auxiliaries, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough.† The disorders incidental to a camp attacked these troops, and one of the first carried off by them was the duke. This was peculiarly unfortunate, as the command upon his death devolved upon Lord George Sackville,‡ with whom Prince Ferdinand was not on good terms. The prince had gained complete possession of the Duke of Marlborough, which, considering the respective talents of the two men, was a most desirable circumstance. But the haughtiness and impatience of control of Lord George had early caused a separation between him and the commander-in-chief: this, in his new position, became every day wider and more irreconcilable; while the new second in command, Lord Granby,§ added still more to the ill-will and ill-humour of Lord George, by siding with Prince Ferdinand.‖

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

† Charles (Spencer), second Duke of Marlborough, son of Charles (Spencer), third Earl of Sunderland, by Anne Churchill his wife, daughter of John the great Duke of Marlborough.

‡ Third son of Lionel (Sackville), first Duke of Dorset. He afterward took the name of Germaine, and was in 1782 created Viscount Sackville. Died 1785.

§ John (Manners) Marquis of Granby, eldest son of John (Manners), third Duke of Rutland. The hero of alehouse signs, and the most popular military commander who has as yet appeared in England. His generosity, kind-heartedness, engaging manners, and heroic bravery made him the idol of the soldiers and of the people. He appears to have been a man of no talent. He died 19th October, 1770. Lord Granby's popularity at the time of his going to the war in Germany was so great that no less than 52 young officers requested to be allowed to serve as his aids-de-camp upon that occasion.

‖ Memoirs by Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford.

The French, who were now commanded by M. de Contades, in the place of the Count of Clermont, again recrossed the Rhine; but the able dispositions of Prince Ferdinand prevented their effecting any thing of consequence during the remainder of the campaign. At the same time he succeeded in driving the Prince of Soubise out of the whole country of Hesse; and the hereditary Prince of Brunswick took Marbourg, the only fortress in those parts remaining in the possession of the French, after a siege of a few days.* After the taking of this place, the allies, who were in possession of the whole of Westphalia and Lower Saxony, went into winter-quarters. At the conclusion of this glorious campaign, the King of England sent the King of Prussia "his thanks for having lent him so good a general."†

The year 1758 concluded with a new treaty, signed on the 30th of December, between the court of Versailles and that of Vienna, which was partly occasioned by a new one having been entered into between England and Prussia early in the same month, by which the former power agreed to pay the latter a further subsidy of 670,000*l.*‡ The French and Austrian treaty was the work of the new minister for foreign affairs in France, the Duke of Choiseul, who continued so long to be the director of the counsels of that country, and in that capacity exhibited great want of skill and unbounded extravagance. Bernis had been disgraced for quarrelling with his benefactress Madame de Pompadour. Choiseul was a Lorrainer by birth: he had himself been ambassador from France to Vienna; and his father, M. de Stainville, had been ambassador from the emperor to Paris. Under these circumstances it was not unnatural that he should wish to strengthen the bonds of union between the two courts with which he was so

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
† Memoirs by Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford.
‡ Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

much connected. This treaty contained many articles and stipulations, all to the advantage of the empress-queen; but its real object was the destruction of Frederic; which, indeed, was confessed in the preamble, where it was said, "that nothing but the diminishing of the pernicious power of the King of Prussia could re-establish the tranquillity of Germany." In conformity with the spirit of this treaty, the agents of France and Austria employed the winter in preaching through Europe a crusade against the Prussian monarch. With these views they were of course peculiarly active at Petersburg, in their attempts to keep alive the hatred of the Empress Elizabeth against the common foe.*

The winter, which, through the rest of Germany, put an end to military operations, had not the same effect in Swedish Pomerania. The Prussian and Swedish generals continued fighting there during the months of January and February; but the advantages gained were entirely on the side of the former. Count Dohna, who had passed through Mecklenburg into the Uker March, drove Hamilton the Swedish commander back to Stralsund with considerable loss. At the same time, General Canitz attacked the Swedish fortress of Anclam; and Count Sparre, who commanded there, was obliged to capitulate; and he and his garrison, consisting of above 1200 men, were taken prisoners of war. General Manteufel besieged Demmin and the fort of Penamunde, and took them both, with their garrisons. The senate of Sweden finally recalled the unsuccessful Hamilton, and replaced him by General Lantingshausen.†

It is said that the losses of the King of Prussia in the campaign of 1758 amounted to 30,000 men, while that of his enemies exceeded 100,000. What a dreadful picture of war do these details give us! especially

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II
† Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

when we add to them the horrors and miseries suffered by the inhabitants of the countries occupied or marched through by the different armies. Of these some idea may be formed from the barbarous orders given and executed by the French commanders. Among other despatches of a similar kind, the Marshal de Belle-Isle, then one of the principal French ministers, writes thus, on the 5th of October, to the Marshal de Contades:—"You must make a desert of Westphalia; and with regard to the countries of Lippe and Paderborn, as these are very fertile provinces, you must take great care to destroy every thing in them without exception."*

The campaign† we are about to commence the relation of, though perhaps the most disastrous in the whole history of Frederic, commenced under favourable auspices for the Prussians. A Polish prince, Sulkowsky, undertook, in the month of February, to levy troops and establish magazines for the Russians. The King of Prussia sent General Wobersnow with 8000 men against him; who took the prince prisoner, and destroyed his magazines, before his allies the Russians were able to afford him any assistance. The Polish soldiers were compelled to enter the Prussian service, and the prince was sent prisoner to the fortress of Glogau.‡

In spite of the rigours of the season, Prince Henry plunged into Bohemia, crossed the rocky mountains, and passed the dangerous defiles of that country; and, wherever he came, dissipated the troops of the enemy. In March, another Prussian general, Knobloch, who had been sent by Prince Henry into Thuringia, seized upon the town of Erfurt, and defeated a detachment of Austrians; while the General Lindstadt dislodged the Austrian general Campitelli, and destroyed many of the enemy's magazines. Gene-

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Of 1759.
‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

ral Fouquet also repulsed Deville, who had made an irruption into Upper Silesia. In April, Prince Henry, who had assembled his army near Zwickau in Saxony, and the generals under him, obtained some considerable advantages over the Austrians. General Hulsen surprised General Reinhard, and took him and 2000 men prisoners; and General Auschersleben made an expedition to Saatz, where he destroyed the great Austrian magazines, and burnt 150 boats upon the Elbe.*

Meanwhile, the King of Prussia had reassembled his army near Landshut; and Daun took up an advantageous position opposite to him, between Schatzlar and Trautenau. In the month of May, General Finck defeated, at Asch, a detachment under the command of Count Maguire; and Meineche and Kleist surprised the Baron de Riedesel near Himmelskron, and took him prisoner, with 2500 Austrian troops. They then laid Bamberg, Wurzbourg, and other imperial towns under contribution. Mecklenburg was also invaded by the Prussian detachments, and Schwerin was taken by them. They levied heavy contributions upon the whole country, in revenge for the hatred shown by the Duke of Mecklenburg to the King of Prussia; who, though so insignificant a sovereign, had entered with ardour into the league against him.

Upon this occasion the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, afterward Queen of England, wrote a feeling letter to the King of Prussia, describing the devastations caused by his troops, of which she was herself an eyewitness. Frederic was touched by this; and is supposed, in consequence, to have mentioned her, upon a subsequent occasion, with eulogy to the English government, when they were in search of a wife for the young George the Third.† Prince Henry obliged the army

* Archenholz. Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans. † *Ibid*

of the empire to retire from Nuremberg with considerable loss; but the Austrians, who menaced an irruption into Saxony from Bohemia, compelled the prince quickly to return to his original post, and to give up the pursuit of the troops of the circles *

CHAPTER VII.

Operations of the Russians and Austrians—Battle of Zullichau—Junction of Soltikof and Laudon—Battle of Kunersdorf—Dresden taken by the Austrians—Further Movements of the hostile Armies—Daun in the Camp of Plauen—Affair of Maxen—General Dierecke and his Corps taken Prisoners—The Swedes obtain Advantages—Campaign of Prince Ferdinand—Voltaire's Account of the King of Prussia's Verses on Lewis the Fifteenth.

The Russians had assembled their army in Poland, and appeared to intend invading the King of Prussia's territories. Count Dohna therefore left a detachment under the command of General Kleist to make head against the Swedes; while he himself, collecting all the troops he could muster, which amounted to 28,000 men, marched against 86,000 Russians. By the happy choice of his positions, and the judicious nature of his marches, he for some time kept the Russian multitude at bay, and at a considerable distance from the Prussian frontiers. At length the want of provisions obliged him to fall back into the interior of the Prussian territories, which enabled Fermor, the Russian general, to post his army at Babimost, near to Zullichau, on the frontiers of Poland.† Shortly after this, Fermor was succeeded in the command of the Russian forces by Field-marshal the Count de Soltikof, but he remained still with the army, and acted under the orders of

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand. † *Ibid*

his successor; and Dohna, with whose conduct the King of Prussia was dissatisfied, resigned the conduct of the Prussian army to General Wedel.*

Frederic, appalled by his losses, had determined during this campaign to remain, if possible, on the defensive. His army, therefore, did not move from its position near Landshut.† Daun was some time before he discovered the intentions of his enemy; and when he had discovered them, he lost six weeks in a correspondence with Fermor, for the purpose of settling a combined plan of operations. At length they agreed that Daun should enter Lusatia; that he should send a large reinforcement of cavalry to the Russians; and that he should hold the king in check while the Russians destroyed the army of General Wedel. Daun placed his camp near Marklissa, on a spot where the boundaries of Bohemia, Silesia, and Lusatia join. The King of Prussia planted himself opposite to him, near a village called Duringsworwerk, and appointed General Fouquet to cover the narrow defile which leads to Landshut. The Austrian general Deville attempted to penetrate into Silesia by Friedland, but Fouquet placed himself in the passes of the mountains, and obliged him to retreat with great loss.

These occurrences happened early in July, and the next event in the campaign was the battle of Zullichau, fought between Soltikof and Wedel.‡ Wedel took the command on the 22d of July. He was neither acquainted with his own troops nor with those of the enemy, nor with the country in which he was to fight; in spite of which hindrances to success, he had received positive orders from the King of Prussia to attack the Russians without delay, and whatever it might cost; supposing he could not, in any other way, prevent their junction with their Austrian

* Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

auxiliaries. Under these circumstances, and urged on by the commands of his sovereign, Wedel was obliged to venture an engagement on the 23d of July, the day after he had arrived at the army.* Soltikof had turned the left wing of Wedel, and had advanced as far as Palzig, with a view of meeting General Laudon, who, at the head of 30,000 men, was marching to join him. Wedel, when he found that Soltikof had passed him, drew his troops out in order of battle along a marshy stream. His centre attempted to cross it by means of a narrow bridge, but was stopped by the well-directed fire of the Russians. He then directed his principal attack against the Russian right wing, hoping by that means to regain his communication with Crossen and Frankfort, which they had cut off. General Manteufel, who led this attack, passed the rivulet, and threw the Russian right into confusion. But the rest of the Prussian line, from the fault of their position, were not able to support or to continue the brilliant onset of Manteufel. The Russian artillery occasioned a great carnage in their ranks, and General Wobersnow was killed, and Manteufel dangerously wounded. Towards evening the Prussians were obliged to retreat to Moksau, but without being pursued. Their loss had amounted to 4700 killed and wounded; and they lost, besides, fifteen cannons and six standards. The killed and wounded of the Russians amounted to 5000 men. On the 25th the Prussians passed the Oder near Schicherzig. Soltikof marched along the right side of the river to Frankfort; and Wedel on the other side, to observe his motions, to Muhlrose.†

Shortly after the battle of Zullichau, Laudon effected his junction with Soltikof at Frankfort on the Oder. He had left General Haddick with 12,000 men at Guben, while he himself pushed forward with 18,000, consisting principally of cavalry.‡ Imme

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand

diately after the junction the united army of the Russians and Austrians placed themselves in an intrenched camp on the right bank of the Oder, near Kunersdorf.*

As soon as the disastrous news of the defeat of Zullichau had reached the King of Prussia, he determined upon immediately himself heading the army which he destined to act against the Russians. With this intention, he sent for his brother Prince Henry, and confiding to him the command of the force which was observing Marshal Daun, he himself, having collected all the troops he could spare from other services, proceeded to join the army of Wedel. In his march, he fell upon the rear-guard of Haddick's detachment, near Guben, and took 2000 prisoners. During the night of the 10th and 11th of August he passed the Oder at Reitwent, and encamped near Bischoffée. His army, when united with that of Wedel, consisted of only 48,000 men; while that of the Russians and Austrians amounted to 96,000; who were, besides, defended by strong intrenchments.† None of these disadvantages, however, intimidated Frederic, but he determined upon giving battle the next day.

On the morning of the 12th of August, General Finck appeared with the right wing of the Prussian army on a height which was opposite to the left side of the Russian camp. This evolution was performed with a view of attracting attention; while, at the same time, the king made his infantry defile to the left, and form themselves in battle array in a wood; and the Prince of Wirtemberg, who commanded the Prussian cavalry, having made a detour in order to arrive unexpectedly at his post, suddenly presented himself before the enemy's centre. The Prussian vanguard commenced the attack with fixed bayonets, under a dreadful fire of artillery; in spite of

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II

which they forced the Russian intrenchments, and entered them, followed by the king and the whole line of the army. At this moment the victory seemed almost decided in favour of the Prussians, as the Russian left wing was routed and obliged to retire through a deep ravine, behind the village of Kunersdorf. The foremost Prussians, pursuing the enemy with too much ardour along the ravine, were stopped and driven back by the raking fire of the Russian cannons. They were thrown back upon other advancing battalions, and in a short time the whole of this part of the Prussian army was in a state of complete disorder. From the nature of the ground, the Prussians could never succeed in restoring order, or forming themselves anew; while the Russians continued to extend their line, and to bring their artillery to bear upon them with a most destructive precision. General Seidlitz, in trying to rally the troops, and lead them on again, was wounded; and a similar fate awaited the Prince of Wirtemberg. General Putkammer, at the head of the light troops and hussars, made a desperate charge, and was killed in the onset. For six hours did the Prussians, with an incredible bravery, though in disorder, opposed to an enemy greatly superior to them in numbers, and mowed down in whole ranks by the fire of his artillery, keep their ground.*

Frederic, who was obstinately bent upon wresting the victory from the Russians, led his troops several times in person to the charge. He had two horses killed under him, and his clothes were pierced with balls. The latter attacks, which seemed almost hopeless, he commanded, it is said, against the advice of his principal generals. At length, General Laudon finished the contest, by appearing with the Austrian cavalry, which had not suffered at all, at the head of another ravine, and falling upon the

* Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II. par l'Abbé Denina.

Prussian right wing. The confusion now became general among the infantry, who were obliged universally to retreat; and from the nature of the ground, and the difficulty of extricating themselves from the entrances to the Russian intrenchments, the carnage was necessarily dreadful. The king remained the last upon the field of battle. He collected some dispersed battalions, with the intention of arresting the pursuit of the victorious allies, and, if possible, of saving his own artillery. But he was soon surrounded by their cavalry, and had great difficulty in making his escape. Finally, the scattered remains of the Prussian army rallied themselves about a league from the field of battle, at Goritz, from whence the next day they retired to Reitwent.*

The King of Prussia was much assisted in his retreat by General Finck; who had also so greatly distinguished himself in the engagement, in rallying the troops, forming them again, repairing the disorder, and leading them to the charge, that Frederic paid him the high compliment of telling him that "he would become a second Turenne."†

The battle of Frankfort or Kunersdorf, for it has been called by both names, was by far the most destructive one to the Prussians of any they had yet endured. They lost 7584 killed, besides 11,119 wounded; among whom were almost all the generals and officers of distinction. They also lost the greater part of their artillery, including 100 cannons, which they had, in the beginning of the contest, taken from the enemy. The loss of the allies amounted to 3511 killed and 12,260 wounded.

Among the killed on the Prussian side was Major Kleist, an eminent German poet. In one of his own poems he had predicted his fate, in a line which may be thus translated:—"And I also shall, perhaps, some day be called upon to die for my country."

* Memoires du Comte de Hordt.—Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.
† Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

He led a battalion against the enemy, and seized upon three of their batteries. In this service his right hand was shattered by a ball; upon which he grasped his sword in his left hand, and again headed his troops in their attack upon a fourth battery. Here he was again wounded, and fell. His soldiers took him up, and placed him in a ditch, that he might be out of the dangers of the mêlée during the combat. Here he was found by the merciless Cossacks, who, though his wounds were bleeding profusely, had the inhumanity to strip him even of his shirt. His miserable condition excited the pity of some Russian hussars, who threw over him an old cloak, and gave him a morsel of bread and a half a florin. But another horde of Cossacks arrived, who took from him what the charity of their companions had bestowed. He thus remained all night, naked and bleeding. The next day he was found, and conveyed prisoner to Frankfort. But succour came too late. His wounds, which were not in themselves mortal, had become so by neglect, and from the muddy water in which they had been so long immersed. He died a few days after the battle, and was honourably buried by the Russians.*

Soltikof, the Russian general, is reported to have said, after this battle, in allusion to the losses his army had sustained, "If I win such another victory as these last two,† I shall have to go alone, with my truncheon in my hand, to Petersburgh, to convey the news of it." He also wrote to the empress, when sending the detail of the battle, "Your majesty must not be surprised at the greatness of our loss. It is the custom of the King of Prussia to sell his defeats very dear."‡ In the early part of the day it is said that Frederic, from the advantage gained in forcing the Russian intrenchments, was so

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans
† Kunersdorf and Zullichau.
‡ Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans

confident of the victory being his own, that he actually wrote thus to the queen:—"Madam, we have driven the Russians from their intrenchments; in two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory." At the end of the day, he was obliged to send her a note of a very different character:—"Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potsdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy."*

The fears of Frederic with regard to the fate of Berlin were not, however, upon the present occasion realized. The Russians, who were still afraid of him, in spite of his defeat, remained quiet in their intrenchments; and allowed him time to ensure the safety of his capital, to remount his artillery, and to collect a sufficient army to protect Brandenburgh; at the same time detaching from it the General Wünsch, with a considerable body of men, who marched into Saxony.† General Wünsch, who had remained with a small detachment on the other side of the Oder, had taken Frankfort while the battle was actually going on; but when he found the issue of it, he was obliged to abandon his conquest, and to march to join the beaten army.‡

The news of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's victory over the French at Minden was brought to the King of Prussia at the moment of the battle of Kunersdorf. When he sent the prince's messenger back, he said to him, "I am sorry that my answer to so agreeable a piece of news is not a more satisfactory one; however, if in your journey back, you find the passages open, and that Daun is not already at Berlin, and Contades at Magdeburg, you may assure Prince Ferdinand from me, that our loss will not prove a very important one."§

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
§ Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

Marshal Daun, upon hearing of the battle of Kunersdorf, marched with the main body of his army to meet the Russians, who, on their side, advanced into Lusatia, in order to unite with him. To prevent this junction, Prince Henry marched from Duringsworwerk towards Sagan; and detached General Stutterheim in the direction of Zittau and Friedland, who destroyed the magazines of Daun. At the same time, the King of Prussia advanced as far as Lubben, to meet his enemies.

The army of the empire, and various detachments of Austrian troops, had meanwhile taken possession of the greater part of Saxony. Leipsic, Torgau, and Wittemberg fell into their hands during the month of August; and the surrender of these towns was followed by that of Dresden. Frederic, in the hopes of saving the latter city, had sent General Wünsch to its assistance, who joined to his own detachment the garrisons of Leipsic, Torgau, and Wittemberg, retook the two latter places in his way, and then presented himself before Dresden. He, however, arrived there too late. The Prussian commandant, General Schmettau, had capitulated exactly the day before.* Dresden had been invested by certain detachments of the Austrian army previously to the battle of Kunersdorf; and to these had since been added the great body of the army of the circles, commanded by the Prince of Deux-ponts Schmettau had defended himself with great bravery, and had disregarded the various menaces which the besieging commanders had made use of to intimidate him; but when he heard of the defeat of his master, and did not hear of the probable arrival of any succours, he deemed it more advisable to capitulate; and thus to save the treasure belonging to the King of Prussia, and amounting to 5,000,000 of crowns, which was deposited at Dresden. The besiegers

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

who were aware of the approach of General Wünsch, though Schmettau was not, were too happy to obtain possession of the place upon any terms; and they therefore agreed to the demands of Schmettau, which were, that he should be permitted to retire where he pleased with his garrison, their baggage, and the treasure. These stipulations were afterward ill kept by the conquering troops and their generals; who acted, in many instances, with great cruelty to the Prussian garrison, pillaged their effects, and even fired upon and killed some of them. At length Schmettau succeeded in extricating his troops from these ungenerous and unfaithful enemies.*

General Wünsch retired, and in his march attacked and defeated General St. André, who, during his absence, had made an unsuccessful attempt upon Torgau. The action was the more glorious to Wünsch, as he had only 4000 men with him, and St. André had 14,000. The consequence of this success was the recovery of Leipsic by Wünsch, and the taking the whole garrison, together with Prince Hohenlohe the governor, prisoners.† This occurred about the middle of September; and shortly afterward Frederic detached General Finck to the assistance of Wünsch. As soon as they were united they marched together to Meissen; where, though far inferior in numbers to their enemies, they on the 21st of September gave battle to the combined forces of the empire and of Austria, and defeated them. The loss of the Prussians in this engagement amounted to 800 men; and that of the allied troops to 2617.

The want of provisions and the disposition of the Prussian forces had obliged Daun to relinquish his intention of effecting a junction with Soltikof; and he had therefore retired to Budissin. When, however, he heard of the success of the Prussians near

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Müller Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand

Meissen, he hastened towards Dresden, fearing that General Finck might intend to attack that city. Prince Henry, on the other hand, advanced to support Finck, surprised the detachment of the Austrian General Vehla, near Hoerswerda, cut in pieces 500 men, and took 1500 prisoners; and then, taking his road by Torgau, met Finck near Strehlen.

The intention of Soltikof and Laudon at this period of the campaign, namely, the commencement of October, was to make an irruption into Silesia. But the able dispositions of the King of Prussia prevented the success of this scheme. He first obliged them to pass the Oder, and succeeded at length in driving them back into Poland, assisted by the want of provisions, which existed to a great extent in their army. The Russians remained on the frontier of Poland, and the Austrians, commanded by Laudon, retired into their own dominions. Frederic was now attacked by so severe a fit of gout, that he was obliged to go and nurse himself at Glogau; while he sent General Hulsen with the greater part of his army to reinforce, in Saxony, Prince Henry; who now found himself opposed to the whole army of Daun, as well as to that of the empire.*

The plan of Daun had been to blockade, if possible, the Prussians in their camp, and to prevent them from communicating with the towns of Leipsic and Wittemberg, where were their magazines. In this, however, he had been foiled by the skill of Prince Henry; several of his detachments had been obliged to retire from their positions; and one, commanded by the Duke of Aremberg, had been defeated by Wünsch, who took 1200 prisoners. These disasters, together with the arrival of the reinforcement under Hulsen, which was followed after a short interval by that of the king in person, obliged the cautious Daun to retire into an impregnable

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.—Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

camp behind the great ravine of Plauen; a position which also ensured the safety of Dresden.* Frederic sent out detachments to ruin the Austrian magazines; but Daun remained immoveable, having sent the army of the circles to Pirna, and his own sick and superfluous baggage into Bohemia. These arrangements were considered by the king as symptoms of an intention on the part of Daun to retreat; and under this idea he sent Finck, on the 17th of November, at the head of 14,000 men, to Maxen, a position in the rear of Daun; hoping by this movement, to which Prince Henry and Finck himself had vainly objected, to hasten the retreat of Daun into Bohemia.†

By this rash evolution Finck was quite separated from the main body of the Prussian army, and left exposed to the danger of being obliged to resist, single-handed, any attack which the Austrians might think proper to make upon him. He was fully sensible of the danger he was in of being surrounded and overpowered; and wrote to inform the king of it, who answered him, "You know that I hate difficulties; try and advance as well as you can."‡ Finck upon this advanced to Maxen, and sent on a detachment of 3000 men, under General Linstadt, to seize upon the pass of Dippoldiswalde, in order that his communication with Freyberg might be kept open. But this disposition did not meet the approbation of Frederic; who wrote to order him to withdraw the detachment from Dippoldiswalde, and to keep his whole force concentrated. Finck obeyed, and then wrote to the king, to explain the difficulties of his own situation, and to inform him of the position of the enemy. This letter and all the subsequent ones, by which Finck and his master strove

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand
‡ Campagnes de Frederic II., par M. de W

to communicate, were intercepted by the Austrians.*

Daun, who was aware of the helpless condition of the Prussians, determined to profit by it: a portion of his army was left to keep in check that of the king, while with the rest he advanced to Dippoldiswalde, to attack Finck in the rear. At the same time a body of Croats had orders to attack his left flank; the army of the empire, marching from Pirna, was to fall on his right; and the detachment commanded by General Brentano to occupy him in front. On the 20th of November these simultaneous attacks upon the small but heroic band of Finck took effect. The Prussians defended themselves with the greatest bravery; but as they were themselves placed in a valley, the heights surrounding which were entirely covered by the enemy's troops, their valour only occasioned a great carnage among themselves, without affording them the slightest chance of escaping from their perilous situation. The village of Maxen was burnt; the Prussian barricades and intrenchments were forced in all directions; while the Austrian cannons did tremendous execution in their ranks. Thus was the contest continued till night put a stop to it. During the night General Finck took counsel with the other general officers who were with him. Two alternatives were proposed; either to endeavour to cut their way through the enemy, or to capitulate. The first seemed so utterly desperate, and without hopes of success, that the second was determined upon.†

Accordingly, on the 21st of November, Finck capitulated with the remains of his corps, and all became prisoners of war to the Austrians. Of the 14,000 men who had made the expedition with him only 3000 remained unwounded at the time of the capitulation. None escaped, except a few of the

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

hussars, who carried the unwelcome news to the King of Prussia. Frederic, in his history of this war, imputes great blame to General Finck and his colleagues, on account of this disastrous capitulation; but allowances must be made for the bitter feelings which could not fail to have been excited in the breast of the Prussian monarch by this unexpected reverse of fortune. When at the peace General Finck was exchanged, the king had him, as well as his colleagues, Generals Rebentisch and Gersdorf, brought to trial for their conduct on this occasion. They were all condemned to imprisonment, and Finck and Gersdorf were turned out of the army. In spite of these severities, the opinion which the public has formed of the catastrophe of Maxen is, that General Finck was more unfortunate than culpable; and that it was his master who was principally to blame, for placing him in so difficult and dangerous a position.*

The catastrophe of Maxen was followed by another reverse to the Prussian arms, which took place in the beginning of December. A Prussian detachment under the command of General Dierecke was posted at Meissen, on the right bank of the Elbe. He found it impossible to pass the river, the bridge having been destroyed; while such vast masses of ice floated down the river that he was foiled in an attempt to cross it in boats. Daun, who was aware of his situation, sent a considerable corps commanded by General Beck; who attacked Dierecke, and took him and 1500 men prisoners. Some others who endeavoured to escape across the river were drowned.†

Frederic now expected to be attacked by Daun, who advanced with his army to the Prussian lines; but his usual caution prevailed, and he retired again to his old camp of Pirna, where he disposed his

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Campagnes de Frederic II. par M. de W

troops in winter-quarters, and thus covered and protected Dresden. At the same time the king placed himself at Freyberg. Here he was joined by a reinforcement of 12,000 men, commanded by the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who had been sent to his aid by Prince Ferdinand.* Both armies suffered greatly from the severity of the season. The winter was a colder one than had been known since the year 1709. Many soldiers were, in consequence, frozen to death, and those who survived endured the greatest miseries.† Frederic himself passed the winter in a wretched hovel in the village of Schlettau, where he was obliged to have a chimney made, there being none before. He had so few clothes that he was compelled, upon one occasion, to lie in bed while his breeches were mended by the village tailor. His other comforts were proportionably restricted.‡

The Swedes had obtained some advantages this year, in consequence of the necessity General Kleist had been under, after the battle of Kunersdorf, of marching to the assistance of the King of Prussia. No sooner had he quitted Pomerania, than they attacked and took the fort of Penamunde; while, by sea, General Karplan, having entered with his fleet the harbour of Stettin, had seized upon nine armed Prussian vessels which were at anchor there. Count Fersen also took the town of Wollin, and in it 600 prisoners. Alarmed at these successes, General Manteufel collected a certain number of the wounded and recovering soldiers who had been placed in Berlin and Stettin, and drove the Swedes back beyond the river Pene. In the month of January, 1760, he passed that river, repulsed the advanced posts of the Swedes, cut 300 in pieces, took 200 prisoners, and

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

† Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.—Campagnes de Frederic II., par M. de W.

‡ Campagnes de Frederic II., par M. de W.

obliged the rest to retreat to Greifswalde. The bitterness of the cold put an end to this winter campaign, and Manteufel retired into the town of Anclam; where, on the 28th of January, he was surprised by the Swedes and taken prisoner. They were, however, in their turn driven out by General Stutterheim.*

The campaign of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick against the French, during this year, was upon the whole a successful one; though the first enterprise he attempted did not partake of that character.† During the winter the French had become possessed of the great and important town of Frankfort; which enabled them at the same time to keep open their communication with the towns on the Rhine and with Alsatia, and on the other with the Austrians and the army of the empire. Prince Ferdinand, anxious to drive them from thence, assembled his troops at Fulda in the month of April; and, leaving a portion of them to guard the electorate of Hanover, marched towards Frankfort at the head of 30,000 men. By the way he seized upon several small detachments of the French troops, and at length approached the village of Bergen. Here he found the enemies strongly posted; but, conceiving that they only consisted of a very few battalions, he immediately attacked them. He, however, soon found his mistake; as it was the main body of the French army, commanded by the Duke of Broglio, who, till the arrival of the Marshal de Contades from Paris, acted as general-in-chief. After three or four desperate attacks upon their position, in one of which the Prince of Ysenbourg was killed, Prince Ferdinand was obliged to draw off his troops, and to march towards the country of Hesse.‡

Early in June, Contades arrived with reinforce-

* Müller, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II
‡ Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

ments, and having united them with the army of Broglio, the two generals were enabled, from their great superiority in numbers over the English and Hanoverian army, to advance into the heart of Westphalia, while Prince Ferdinand retired before them. In their progress the French generals took Munster, Minden, and Cassel; and it appeared almost impossible to prevent their again obtaining possession of the King of England's Hanoverian dominions. Prince Ferdinand, however, determined, for the sake of trying to avert this catastrophe, to risk a battle, though with greatly inferior forces. He, therefore, having collected all the troops he could from the various garrisons, on the 1st of August attacked the French army near Minden, and gained a complete victory.

The victory would, however, have been still more signal, had the English cavalry done their duty. They were led by Lord George Sackville, who, whether from jealousy of Prince Ferdinand, or of his second in command, Lord Granby, with both of whom he was on bad terms, from cowardice, or, as he himself said, from not understanding the prince's orders, did not allow them to advance until the battle was gained. The history of Lord George Sackville's conduct upon this occasion has been so much and so repeatedly canvassed, and all that followed from it is so well known, that it is unnecessary to dilate upon it here. In the battle of Minden, the army of Prince Ferdinand consisted of 35,000 men, that of the French of 70,000.*

On the same day with the battle of Minden, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick defeated, at Gohfeld, a French detachment commanded by the Duke of Brissac, and, pursuing him to the Weser, placed himself in such a position as to cut off all access for the French army to the country of Waldeck and Pader

* Memoirs by Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford.

born. They were therefore obliged to take the only road that lay open for them, namely, that by Cassel.* The victory obtained by Prince Ferdinand occasioned, in the course of the autumn, the towns of Minden,† Cassel, and Munster again to fall into his hands; and before his troops retired into winter-quarters, the French had been compelled to evacuate almost the whole of Westphalia. Thus, as the King of Prussia truly observes, "did Prince Ferdinand, by his valour and his talents, repair all the injustices which fortune had done him at the commencement of the campaign."‡

In the year 1758 we found Voltaire negotiating between the Cardinal de Tencin and the King of Prussia upon the subject of peace, but with no very friendly intentions towards either. This year, he appears, though in a different way, to have acted still less honourably to that sovereign, by betraying his private correspondence to the French government; and thus rendering any pacification more difficult than ever. His excuse, that the letters from the King of Prussia had already apparently been opened at the post-office, can hardly be accepted as a sufficient one for so gross a breach of confidence.

But the circumstance had best be related in his own words:—"A little adventure, which happened about this time, appears to me as singular as any that has occurred since the existence in the world of kings and poets. Frederic, having passed some time in guarding the frontiers of Silesia in an impregnable camp, and having nothing to do, composed an ode against France, and against the king. He

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

† It was at Minden that the secret correspondence between the ministers at Paris and the French generals was taken and published; and universal odium fell upon the former for the general barbarity of their orders, as to the conduct of the war, and their repeated injunctions to reduce the most fertile provinces of Germany to a desert.

‡ Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

sent me, in the beginning of May, 1759, his ode, signed Frederic, accompanied by an enormous packet of prose and verse. I open the packet, and I perceive that I am not the first person that had done so; it was evident that the seal had been broken during the journey. I was horror-struck on reading in the ode the following strophes:—

"O nation folle et vaine,
Quoi! ce sont là ces guerriers
Sous Luxembourg, sous Turenne
Couverts d'immortels lauriers;
Qui, vrais amans de la gloire,
Affrontaient pour la victoire
Les dangers, et le trépas?
Je vois leur vil assemblage
Aussi vaillant au pillage
Que lâche dans les combats.

"Quoi! votre faible monarque
Jouet de la Pompadour,
Flétri par plus d'une marque
Des opprobres de l'amour,
Lui qui, détestant les peines,
Au hasard remets les rênes
De son empire aux abois,
Cet esclave parle en maître!
Ce Céladon sous un hêtre
Croit dicter le sort des rois!"

"I trembled on seeing these verses, among which there are some good ones, or at least that would pass for such. I have, unfortunately, the merited reputation of having thus far corrected the poems of the King of Prussia. The packet has been opened by the way, the verses will be known, the King of France will think them written by me, and then here I am, guilty of high-treason, and, what is worse, in disgrace with Madame de Pompadour. In this perplexity I begged the French resident at Geneva to come to me; I showed him the packet, and he agreed with me, that the seal had been broken before it came to me; and he was of opinion, that no other course could be taken in an affair which concerned my head than to send the packet to the

prime-minister, the Duke of Choiseul. Under any other circumstances I should not have taken such a step; but in this case I was obliged, in order to prevent my ruin, to make known to the court the character and conduct of their enemy. I knew the Duke of Choiseul would not abuse my confidence; but that he would content himself with persuading the King of France that the King of Prussia was an irreconcilable enemy, whom it was therefore necessary, if possible, to annihilate. The Duke of Choiseul did not, however, stop there: he is himself a man of talent, and writes verses, and has also friends who do: he determined to pay the King of Prussia in his own coin, and therefore sent me an ode against Frederic, as bitter and as terrible as that of Frederic against us. The following are specimens of it:—

"Ce n'est plus cet heureux génie
Qui des arts dans la Germanie,
Devait allumer le flambeau;
Epoux, fils, et frère coupable,
C'est lui que son père équitable
Voulut étouffer au berceau.

"Cependant c'est lui dont l'audace
Des neuf sœurs et du dieu de Thra
Croit réunir les attributs,
Lui qui chez Mars, comme au Parnasse,
N'a jamais occupé de place
Qu'entre Zoïle et Mévius.

"Vois, malgré la garde Romaine,
Néron poursuivi sur la scène
Par les mépris des légions;
Vois l'oppresseur de Syracuse
Sans fruit prostituant sa muse
Aux insultes des nations,"*
&c. &c

"The Duke of Choiseul, in sending me this answer, assured me that he should publish it if the King of Prussia published his ode; and that he was determined to fight Frederic with the pen as well as

* This abusive production is by Palissot, and has been published more than once.

with the sword. It only depended upon me, if I had wished to amuse myself, to make the King of France and the King of Prussia carry on the war in verse, which would have been a new scene for the world. I preferred giving myself another pleasure, that of being more prudent than Frederic. I wrote to him, that his ode was beautiful, but that he had better not make it public; that he had no need of this additional glory; and that he ought not to close against himself all avenues to a reconciliation with the King of France, to incense him irremediably, and thus to force him to strain every nerve for the purpose of taking vengeance upon him. I added, that my niece had burnt his ode, from fear lest it should be imputed to me. He believed me, and thanked me; not, though, without some reproaches for having burnt the best verses he had ever made. The Duke of Choiseul, on his side, kept his word, and was discreet."*

CHAPTER VIII.

Unsuccessful Negotiations during the Winter—Dispositions of the different Powers—Commencement of the Campaign of 1760—Battle of Landshut—Frederic attacks Dresden, but retreats upon the Approach of Daun—Glatz taken by the Austrians—Recapitulation of Reverses sustained by the Prussians—Laudon besieges Breslau—Battle of Liegnitz—The Russians retire—Proceedings of the Army of the Circles and of the Swedes—Tottleben and Lacy take Berlin.

The winter was passed, as usual, in negotiations which, as usual also, ended in no results. The Ex-King of Poland, Stanislas Leczinski, offered the capital town of his Duchy of Lorraine, Nancy, as the place for holding a congress to consider of measures for restoring peace to Europe. Frederic re

* Mémoires pour servir à la Vie de M. de Voltaire, ecrits par lui-même

ceived this offer at his head-quarters at Freyberg, and immediately wrote the following answer to Stanislas :—

"Sir and my brother,

"I receive your offer with the most lively gratitude, and ask for nothing better than to accept of it. Any negotiation carried on under the auspices of your majesty could not fail of having a happy result; but everybody has not such pacific dispositions as yourself. The courts of Vienna and Petersburg have rejected, in a most unprecedented manner, the propositions which the King of Great Britain and myself have made to them. They will probably persuade the King of France to take the same course, and to continue the war; in which case these powers will be alone responsible for the blood which their refusal will cause to be shed. If all princes, like your majesty, listened to the voice of humanity, of kindness, and of justice, the earth would soon cease to be the scene of devastation, war, and carnage which it at present is. I am, with sentiments of the greatest esteem and of the most sincere friendship, sir and my brother,

"Your Majesty's faithful brother,

"FREDERIC.*

"Freyberg, 8th February, 1760."

The enemies of Frederic, who were only anxious to get through the winter without making any real advances towards pacification, objected upon frivolous grounds to Nancy as the place of meeting, and suggested, first Breda, then Leipsic, and finally dropped the subject, and prepared themselves for the ensuing campaign. The Kings of England and Prussia offered peace to the Empress of Russia; but that sovereign's vindictive feelings against the latter were now heightened by the circumstance

* Archenholz Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans

that her favourite lover was at presen so d to the court of Vienna.*

France was the only power that seemed at all inclined to peace. She showed at one moment a disposition to make a separate peace with England; but this disposition, after a good deal of obscure negotiation, came to nothing. The plan of the allied enemies of Prussia for the campaign was as follows: Soltikof and Laudon, at the head of the great Russian and Austrian armies, were to conquer Silesia; while Daun and the Duke of Deux-Ponts with the Austro-imperial troops were to cover Dresden, overrun Saxony, and invade the Electoral March of Brandenburgh. In these enterprises they were to be assisted by detached corps of Wirtembergers, Swedes, and Russians; the first commanded by their own duke, the second by General Erenschwerd, and the last by the Count de Tottleben. On the other hand, Frederic laboured hard to complete his armies; and when he had done so, sent back the auxiliaries he had received towards the conclusion of the last year from Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.† The allies, who thought they should at length subdue Frederic, from the impossibility of his getting a sufficient number of recruits to replace those who had perished in the war, had come to the determination of not making any exchange of prisoners with him. But the activity of Frederic supplied all these deficiencies: persuasions, money, and force were equally employed, and with great success, to oblge the Saxons to enrol themselves in his army; while the Prussian recruiting agents were perpetually exerting themselves all over Germany for the same object. The expenses of these proceedings were also principally defrayed by the contributions levied on the unhappy Saxons.‡

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
† Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
‡ Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

The campaign of 1760 did not commence with any decisive event. Tottleben surprised and took prisoner, at Schwedt, Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, who was there recovering from the wounds he had received at the battle of Kunersdorf. Daun, posted on the left bank of the Elbe, and Count Lacy* on the right, covered Dresden. The King of Prussia encamped his army between Meissen and Nossen; while that commanded by Prince Henry of Prussia, having assembled near Sagan, advanced against the Russians as far as Landsberg. The first object of Frederic was to attack Lacy, and with this view he passed the Elbe at Jehren; but Lacy upon his approach retired under the walls of Dresden.†

While these evolutions were taking place in Saxony, affairs were assuming a more unfavourable aspect to the Prussian arms in Silesia. A detachment of Austrians had commenced the siege of Glatz; and Laudon had already made attempts, unsuccessful ones it is true, against the fortresses of Neisse and Schweidnitz. The Prussian General Fouquet had placed himself with a small force in an intrenched camp near Landshut, with an intention of obstructing the siege of Glatz. Laudon, finding his position there exceedingly inconvenient to his plans, determined to drive him from it. He therefore, on the 23d of June, attacked the Prussian intrenchments; and as his forces were more than ten times as numerous as those under the command of Fouquet, he was enabled completely to surround him, and to attack him on all sides at once. The Prussians fought with the greatest bravery for seven

* Joseph Francis Maurice Count de Lacy, or Lascy, was the son of Count Peter de Lacy, an Irishman, born in the county of Limerick, who first served in the French armies with distinction, and then successively in those of Austria, Poland, and Russia. The younger Lacy was born at Petersburg, in 1725. In 1744, he entered the Austrian service. He was a general of merit and valour, and no less remarkable for his administrative talents in all military matters than for his abilities in the field. He died at Vienna, 30th November, 1801.

† Müller, Tableau de Guerres de Frederic le Grand

hours, but were at length driven from their camp and obliged to retire as far as the river Bober, where, however, their further retreat was cut off by fresh detachments of the Austrian army, which had been stationed there. Fouquet, at the head of the cavalry, cut his way through the enemy's battalions. He himself was taken prisoner, but the greater part of the cavalry escaped, and joined General Ziethen, near Breslau. Almost the whole of the infantry was either killed or taken prisoners. In this disastrous affair the Prussians lost 8400 men, forty cannons, and thirty-two standards. The Austrians lost in killed and wounded rather less than 2900 men.*

The defeat of Landshut was in no way attributable to any fault on the part of General Fouquet. On the contrary, he had done all that could be expected of an able general and a brave officer to avert the catastrophe; but the combat was between forces so unequal in point of numbers that neither valour nor conduct could avail. Even Frederic, usually so severe in his remarks upon any of his generals who had been unsuccessful, says, in speaking of the battle of Landshut, "Far from this disaster doing any prejudice to the reputation of the brave Fouquet, which had been so long and so solidly established, it only raised it, and rendered it more conspicuous, by furnishing an example of what valour and firmness can do against numbers, however superior they may be.†" Fouquet was himself severely wounded during the engagement. The wound was in the head. He was lying stunned upon the ground, and an Austrian dragoon was preparing to repeat the blow. His life was saved by the devotion of one of his grooms, who threw himself before him, and received upon his body all the wounds which were intended for his master. Fortunately, they were none of them mortal; and Fouquet had the satisfaction of

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

being able to recompense this faithful servant, and to assure to him a competent pension for the rest of his life.*

The consequence of the battle of Landshut was the occupation of the town of that name by the Austrians. It was an unfortified place, and, therefore, could offer no resistance. It is, therefore, difficult to conceive what excuse Laudon could make to his own conscience for suffering his soldiers to pillage it. Such, however, was the case; and it is a stain which can never be effaced from the memory of that general. The barbarities and outrages committed by the Austrians at Landshut were dreadful. "Nothing was spared by them," as Frederic quaintly observes, "but misery and ugliness."†

The King of Prussia determined, if possible, to draw Marshal Daun away from the neighbourhood of Dresden. He therefore affected to hasten to the relief of Glatz (which, as has been already mentioned, was besieged by the Austrians), and marched with great rapidity into Silesia. Daun was completely deceived by this movement, and, having first despatched Lacy after the Prussians, he shortly afterward put his own army also in march towards Silesia. Frederic now returned with equal rapidity; obliged Lacy to retire to the other side of Dresden, and, finally, as far as Pirna; took possession of the suburbs of the town, blockaded the citadel, and summoned the governor, Maguire, to surrender.

The latter refusing, the King of Prussia began to bombard the town on the 17th of July, hoping that the fears of the Austrians for the fate of the Saxon capital would induce them to capitulate. He had already, with the shells he had thrown into the town, burnt a considerable part of it and ruined several beautiful buildings, and the fears of the inhabitants were at the highest point, when the ap-

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

proach of Marshal Daun changed the face of affairs. Frederic had at length obtained his heavy artillery from Magdeburg, and was preparing to batter the town, previously to a general assault. But Daun having contrived, on the night of the 21st of July, to throw sixteen battalions into the town, the Prussians the next day abandoned the siege, and retired to Kesselsdorf.* These reverses were followed by the fall of Glatz, which surrendered to Laudon on the 26th of July. The town is divided into two fortresses, the upper and the lower. The former was taken by assault by General Dreskowitz; upon which the lower one was surrendered by Colonel d'O, an Italian in the Prussian service, who was the governor.† D'O is supposed, in conjunction with part of the garrison, to have betrayed the place to the Austrians. Frederic observes upon it, "This disgraceful event to the Prussian arms was the consequence of a negotiation which M. de Laudon had been carrying on for some time through the means of the Jesuits."‡

A native historian of the war which we are now treating of makes the following judicious remarks upon the unhappy state of the Prussian affairs at this juncture:—"The ill success of the siege of Dresden was the last of those unfortunate events which for the space of a year had continued to fall upon and almost overwhelm Frederic. As the campaign of 1757 has no parallel in history for the brilliant successes which filled it, so there is no instance of a monarch experiencing, in an equally short space of time, such a series of misfortunes without being crushed by them. The battle of Zullichau, lost to the Prussians in July, 1759, had opened this scene of calamities; the terrible defeat of Kunersdorf

* Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.—Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.
† Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
‡ Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

followed it; and soon afterward Dresden was lost. Finck, with his small army, was taken prisoner near Maxen; and the same fate had fallen upon Dierecke at Meissen, together with a considerable part of the corps he commanded. The rigour of the winter, and the contagious disorders which were the consequence of it, the affair of Landshut, the conquest of Glatz, and the raising of the siege of Dresden gave the finishing stroke to all these reverses and disasters."*

The only person who appeared undaunted and undismayed by this host of misfortunes was the individual upon whose head they fell with the greatest weight,—namely, Frederic himself; whose greatness of mind and transcendent talents never shone to so much advantage as when they were brought into action by the rigours of fortune. He prepared forthwith to march into Silesia; where Laudon had no sooner got possession of Glatz than he proceeded to attack Breslau. Soltikof, at the head of the great Russian army, was also on his march to the same place, in the intention of taking up his position on the other side of the town from the Austrians in order to cover the siege.†

The garrison of Breslau was at this time peculiarly feeble; and the fortifications were weak, as well as difficult of defence, from the great size of the town. The commander, General Tauenzein, had under him only 3000 men; a portion of whom were invalids of the regiment of body-guards of Frederic, recovering from the wounds they had received in various battles; and the rest were either deserters or foreigners who had been forced into the Prussian service: from the first, no great activity was to be expected; from the last, neither zeal nor patriotism. In spite, however, of these various disadvantages, the brave Tauenzein resolved upon defending the

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

place. Laudon summoned him to surrender at once, upon the ground "that Breslau not being a fortress, it would be contrary to the usages of war if he was to attempt to defend it; that the king was on the other side of the Oder, and Prince Henry near the Warth; that the Russians would arrive in two days to the number of 75,000 men, and that he thought the town would prefer receiving the Austrians to them; that he would leave to the garrison the liberty of regulating the articles of the capitulation: but that if they refused his offers he should set fire to the place by means of his forty-five mortars." To this Tauenzein replied, "that Breslau was a fortress, and that he would resist the enemy upon the ramparts even if all the houses in the town were reduced to ashes." The bombardment commenced; but Tauenzein adopted such judicious measures that the Austrians obtained no advantages. At the same time, with his heavy artillery, he greatly annoyed the besiegers; firing balls even into the room occupied by Laudon.*

He then called the officers of the regiment of guards together, and representing to them the state of the siege, and the catastrophe which might at any moment arrive of the town if not succoured in time being taken by assault, he proposed to them in that case to shut themselves up in one of the towers of the rampart, and to defend it to the last extremity. "Let us not," said he, "allow any one to say that he has been a witness of such an extraordinary spectacle as the whole regiment of the body-guards of the King of Prussia being taken prisoners." The officers, inflamed with a similar ardour to himself, all agreed eagerly to his proposal. But this gallant act of self-devotion was spared to them.†

The siege had commenced on the 1st of August and on the 5th the approach of Prince Henry of

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans. † *Ibid*

Prussia obliged Laudon to raise it. Short, however, as had been the time it had lasted, it had done much injury to the town and to the inhabitants.* It was said afterward that the handsomest woman, the handsomest man, and the finest building in Breslau had been destroyed by the Austrians. The first was a young lady of the name of Muller; the second a soldier in the guards, who was greatly admired for his personal beauty; and the third was the palace of Prince Hatzfeld.† Prince Henry of Prussia had marched with wonderful rapidity from Landsberg, where he was posted, to the relief of Breslau. Upon his arrival Laudon retreated, and the prince sent General Werner to pursue him. He then himself passed through Breslau, and obliged Soltikof to retire.

Frederic, who had also heard of the siege of Breslau, was equally hastening to its assistance. He left General Hulsen in Saxony to make head against the army of the empire, commanded by the Prince of Deux-Ponts, and marched with great rapidity to the frontiers of Silesia. In five days he performed a march of twenty German miles, in the course of which he had to pass the Rivers Elbe, Spree, Queisse, and Bober, of which the bridges were broken; and was obliged to carry with him, besides, a convoy of 2000 wagons. Daun, who had taken a shorter road, was before the king; but the latter drove him from post to post as far as Buntzlau, and continued to advance in spite of the efforts to arrest his progress of the separate detachments commanded by Generals Riedesel, Lacy, and Beck; which, in fact, surrounded him.‡

Silesia was now literally inundated with hostile armies. It is computed that at this moment there

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.—Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.—Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

were within the bounds of the province 100,000 Austrians, 75,000 Russians, and 80,000 Prussians. So fearful a disparity of numbers gave the King of Prussia no chance of success, or even of escape from his unpitying foes, except by preventing their junction, and combating with them separately. To accomplish this was no easy task; but the skill, the boldness, and the rapidity of movement of Frederic effected it, and caused the battle of Liegnitz.*

The Russians were discontented with the circumspection of Daun. Soltikof thought Daun ought to have fought the Prussians in Saxony. "For now," said he, "to pass the Oder, unite himself with Prince Henry, and then fall upon us with all his forces, will cost the King of Prussia only one of his usual forced marches." Thus urged, Daun resolved to risk a battle, and to attack the Prussians in their camp near Liegnitz. The attack was to be simultaneous from four different points, and the Austrian commanders anticipated a result like that of Hochkirchen. Frederic, however, having discovered their plan, determined to make it subservient to his own. He therefore, on the night of the 14th of August (the next morning being the time fixed for the attack), abandoned his camp, at the same time keeping up, by means of the neighbouring peasants, the fires in it.

It is said that Frederic only discovered the exact plan of the Austrian attack on the very evening when he left his camp. He had retired to rest early, and was asleep, when an officer arrived in breathless haste from the enemy's camp. He demanded of M. de Schulenbourg, who was attached to the king's staff, to see the king without delay. This was refused, both on account of his being in bed, and also from the officer's appearing to be inebriated. He, however, insisted, and at length Schulenbourg

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

thought it right to inform Frederic of the circumstance; while means were taken to restore the stranger to some appearance of sobriety. The king sent General Krusemarck to talk to him, when he informed him that the Prussian army was to be attacked the next morning from various points at once, and explained the details of the plan. He turned out to be himself an Irish officer in the Austrian service, towards whom an injustice had been committed with regard to his advancement, and who, out of revenge, had taken this step. Frederic was convinced of the truth of his intelligence, and immediately proceeded to act upon it.*

He retired to the heights of Psaffendorf, from whence, early in the morning,† he descended upon the troops commanded by Laudon, which were advancing to take a part in the general attack. Laudon thought he had to do with some detached parties of the Prussian army, but he was soon undeceived. His cavalry first, and then his infantry, was thrown into confusion; and, the rout becoming general, he was obliged to retreat to Binowitz, the Prussians still pursuing him. The battle of Leignitz only lasted two hours,—from three in the morning till five. The king had left Ziethen with a detachment to occupy the rest of the Austrian forces.‡ At break of day, Daun, Lacy, and Beck, from their different posts, marched against the Prussian camp, which they discovered to be deserted; and, at the same time, they found themselves prevented by the nature of the ground from advancing to the assistance of Laudon. They were therefore obliged to remain on the defensive. The loss of the Prussians in the battle of Leignitz amounted to only 1186 killed and wounded; while that of the Austrians was 2500 killed and wounded; two generals and

* Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.
† Of August the 15th.
‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

5000 men taken prisoners; eighty-two cannons, and twenty-three standards.*

The Prussian victory deranged the plans of the confederates, saved Silesia, and prevented the junction of the Austrians and Russians. The king marched, the day of the battle, as far as Prachwitz, and the next day to Neumark, where he met the army of Prince Henry. The Russian army had been posted exactly in the road which the king was obliged to take in order to effect this junction. Frederic did not wish to give them battle with his fatigued troops, and he therefore had recourse to a stratagem, to induce them to change their position. He sent a letter addressed to his brother by a peasant, who was instructed to make the journey, so that he could not avoid falling into the hands of the Russian detachments. The letter contained these words:—"I have just completely beaten the whole Austrian army: before night I hope to send you word that I have beaten the Russians also, whom I am going forthwith to attack." Every thing succeeded to the king's desire; the peasant was taken, the Russian commanders read the letter, and believing in the total defeat of the great Austrian army, they retired with as little delay as possible, and thus enabled the king without difficulty to join the prince.†

Soon after the battle of Liegnitz, Frederic wrote the following letter to his friend, the Marquis d'Argens, who was at Berlin. It is curious, as showing the just view he himself took of the state of his affairs; at the same time that his matchless spirit and courage enabled him still to bear up against difficulties and disadvantages which would have overwhelmed any other man:—

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.—Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.

"Hermansdorf, near Breslau,
"27th August, 1760.

"Formerly, my dear marquis, the affair of the 15th would have decided the campaign; but at present that action is only a scratch. A great battle must determine our fate. We shall have one, as it appears, soon; and then, if the event be favourable to us, we may rejoice in good earnest. I return you thanks, however, for the sincere interest you take in the advantage we have obtained. It required many stratagems and much address to bring things to that point. Do not talk to me of danger: the last action only cost me a coat and a horse; which is buying a victory very cheap.

"I have not received the letter you mention. We are in a manner blocked up, as far as regards correspondence, by the Russians on one side of the Oder, and the Austrians on the other. A small skirmish was even necessary to clear the way for Cocceji,* who, I hope, will be able to convey to you this letter.

"I never in my life was in a more dangerous and embarrassing situation than during this campaign. Believe me, nothing less than a miracle is still necessary to enable me to overcome all the difficulties which I foresee. I do my duty as well as I can, when occasion offers; but remember always, my dear marquis, that I cannot command good fortune; and that I am obliged in my plans to leave too much to chance, because I have not means enough to render them more certain. I have the labours of Hercules to perform, at an age too when my strength is leaving me, when my infirmities increase, and, to speak the truth, when hope, the only consolation of the unhappy, begins to desert me. You are not sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances of affairs to have a clear idea of the dangers which menace

* The aid-de-camp to whom this letter was intrusted.

the state. I know them, but conceal them. I keep all my fears for myself, and only communicate to the public my hopes, or the little good news that I can acquaint them with. If the blow I now meditate succeeds, then, my dear marquis, will be the time to express our joy. But till then, do not let us flatter ourselves, lest unexpected bad news should too much deject us.

"I lead here the life of a military monk. I have much to think of about my affairs; and the rest of my time I give to literature, which is my consolation, as it was that of the consul, the father of his country and of eloquence. I know not whether I shall survive this war; but if that should be the case, I am resolved to pass the rest of my days in retirement, in the bosom of philosophy and friendship.

"As soon as freedom of correspondence shall be more restored to us, you will oblige me by writing more frequently. I do not know where we shall have our winter-quarters. Our houses at Breslau have been destroyed in the late bombardment. Our enemies envy us every thing, even the light of day, and the very air we breathe. They must, however, leave us some place; and if it be but a safe one, I shall be delighted to receive you there.

"Well, my dear marquis, what is become of the peace with France? You see that your nation is more blind than you thought for. Those fools lose Canada and Pondicherry, to please the Queen of Hungary and the czarina. Heaven grant that Prince Ferdinand may reward them for their zeal! The officers, innocent of these evils, and the soldiers, will be made the victims, and the illustrious offenders will suffer nothing. I know a trait of the Duke of Choiseul, which I will relate to you when we meet. Never did a proceeding more mad or more foolish disgrace a minister of France since that monarchy has had one.—Here is business which

must attend to. I was in a writing vein, but I believe it is better to conclude, lest I should tire you and neglect my own duties. Adieu, my dear marquis. I embrace you. "FREDERIC."*

Daun, having collected together his scattered forces and detachments, retired into the mountains behind Schweidnitz, pursued during the march by the King of Prussia. The Russian general, Czernichef, recrossed the Oder; and Soltikof, with the great body of the Russian troops, retired into Poland, followed by Prince Henry to the frontiers.†

Towards the end of the month of August, the reigning Duke of Wurtemberg, at the head of 12,000 of his own troops, joined the Prince of Deux-Ponts in Saxony. The latter, imboldened by this great reinforcement, made a desperate attack upon the Prussians commanded by General Hulsen, who were placed in a fortified camp. Though greatly inferior in numbers, Hulsen defended himself so well, that the Prince of Deux-Ponts was obliged to retire after a severe combat, leaving behind 1200 of his men prisoners. He then endeavoured to cut off Hulsen from his communication with Torgau, where were his magazines. But the Prussian general managed to retreat beyond that town, to cover his magazines, and to maintain himself for six weeks in his position near Wittenberg. The enemies, however, eventually obtained possession of Torgau, and took the garrison, consisting of 2500 men, commanded by General Normann, prisoners of war.‡

The Swedish army in Pomerania, commanded by General Ehrenschwerd, had commenced the campaign by obliging General Stutterheim, the Prussian commander, whose forces were far inferior to theirs, to retreat before them into the Uker march. At

* Œuvres posthumes de Frederic II.
† Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
‡ Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

the same time, Mischukof, the Russian admiral, arrived before Colberg with the combined Russo-Swedish fleet, consisting of twenty ships of war. He was met there by Demidof, who had brought 10,000 men by land from Prussia; and they commenced the attack of the fortress by sea and land. General Werner, however, was detached by General Golz, who had been left on the frontiers of Poland by Prince Henry to observe Soltikof, to the relief of Colberg; which was meanwhile most gallantly defended, in spite of immense disadvantage in numbers, by its commander, the brave Colonel Heyden. After an almost incredibly rapid march, Werner surprised the Russians, and obliged them to retire, and then proceeded himself against the Swedes. He succeeded in attacking unexpectedly the troops of the latter, in the suburbs of the town of Pasewalk, and took 600 prisoners and seven cannons.*

The King of Prussia was occupied all this time in rapid marches and countermarches, designed to harass and keep at bay the great Austrian army, in which he was eminently successful. But the distance to which he had been obliged to withdraw himself and his army from the electoral March of Brandenburgh, and consequently from his capital, determined his enemies to concert an expedition against that city. This enterprise was conducted by the Russian general, Tottleben, who arrived before Berlin in the beginning of October. The commander Rochau, animated by the old Field-marshal Lehwald, and the Generals Seidlitz and Knobloch, who were there wounded, determined upon defending himself with three feeble battalions, of whom the garrison was composed. The Russians fired red-hot balls into the town, and bombarded it with shells and grenades. During the night they attacked two of the gates, but were repulsed with loss.

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

The next day Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg arrived to succour the town, and obliged Tottleben to retire to the heights of Tempelhof, where he attacked him and repulsed him to Köpenick. Here, however, he was joined by a reinforcement of 12,000 men, commanded by General Czernichef, which enabled him, in his turn, to repulse the Prince of Wurtemberg, and again to attack one of the gates of Berlin. On the 1st of October, Colonel Kleist with a body of cavalry, and General Hulsen with a considerable corps of infantry, advanced to the assistance of Berlin; but on the following day, General Lacy having joined the Russians with a reinforcement of 14,000 Austrian troops, the Prussians were finally obliged to give way to numbers, their force only amounting to 14,000 men, while that of the allies exceeded 32,000. They fell back, during the night, in the direction of Spandau; and Rochau was at length obliged, on the 9th of October, to deliver up the town (which, be it remarked, is nowhere regularly fortified), and to yield himself and his garrison prisoners of war.*

Tottleben and Lacy, as soon as they had obtained possession of Berlin, released all the prisoners of war confined there, levied a great contribution upon the town, took all the money which they found in the royal treasury, and all the military stores in the arsenal; while the Cossacks and light troops ravaged the country on all sides, and pillaged the country-houses of the king and the princes; and Prince Esterhazy marched towards Potsdam. Frederic states that the Russian and Austrian commanders were so exasperated at the resistance they had met with at Berlin that they even entertained the barbarous idea of burning the town after they had obtained possession of it; but that they were deterred from this

* Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.—Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

piece of needless cruelty by the representations of Verelst, the Dutch envoy.*

The day of the taking of Berlin, the King of Prussia had set off from Schweidnitz, in order to march to the relief of the Electoral March of Brandenburgh. Daun pursued him; while Laudon vainly endeavoured in his absence to obtain possession of Schweidnitz and Cosel. When Frederic on the 14th arrived at Guben, he learned that the enemies had already evacuated Berlin, and that Lacy was retired to Torgau and Soltikof into Poland. Upon this intelligence he sent the General Golz back into Silesia to make head against General Laudon, and he himself marched by Wittemberg into Saxony; while the army of the empire retired upon his approach.

It was about this time, and when he and his troops had been much worn out by the rapid and various marches and countermarches which they were compelled to endure in order to make head against their numerous foes, that Frederic wrote in the following melancholy strain to his friend D'Argens:—"I will not write a *jeremiade* to you, nor alarm you with the details of my fears and disquietudes, though I assure you they are great. The crisis in which I am placed changes, to a certain degree, in appearance; but nothing decisive happens, nor any thing that would seem to lead to a final result. I am consumed by a slow fire; and am like a mutilated body, from which each day some of its members are lopped off. May Heaven assist us, for we have great need of it! You always talk to me about my personal safety. You ought to know as well as I do that it is not necessary for me to live; but while I do live, to do my duty, and to fight for my country, and to try and save it, if that be still possible. I have had many little successes, and I think I ought to take for my motto, *Maximus in minimis, et minimus in maximis.* It is

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II

impossible for you to imagine the horrible fatigues we undergo; this campaign exceeds all the former ones, and I really sometimes do not know which way to turn myself. But I fear I shall only make myself tiresome to you by the recital of my anxieties and miseries. My gayety and my good-humour are for ever buried with those dear and excellent persons to whom my heart was so fondly attached. The end of my life is melancholy and sad. But do not therefore, my dear marquis, forget your old friend."*

A subsequent letter is still more desponding than this one in the sentiments it breathes forth. Frederic even appears from it to have again contemplated the commission of suicide as the only means of escape from the difficulties which threatened to overtake him:—"What I am determined upon is, that I will never see the moment which shall oblige me to make a disadvantageous peace; no persuasion, no eloquence, shall ever induce me to put my hand to my own dishonour. Either I will perish in the ruins of my country, or, if this consolation shall appear too great a one for the fate which pursues me, I shall know how to end my misfortunes when it is no longer possible to support them. I have acted, and I continue to act, in pursuance of this conviction, and according to the dictates of honour, which have always directed my steps; and my conduct shall continue at all times to be conformable to these principles. After having sacrificed my youth to my father, and my maturer age to my country, I think I have acquired the right of disposing as I please of my old age. I have already told you, and I repeat it, my hand shall never sign a disgraceful peace. I shall continue this campaign with the resolution of daring every thing, and of attempting any enterprises, however difficult, which may be deemed advisable, in the hope of either succeeding or meeting a glorious

* Dated from Reisendorf, 18th Sept. 1760.—Œuvres posthumes de Frederic II., Roi de Prusse.

death. * * * * What reasons, in truth, one has at fifty years of age to despise life! The prospect which remains to me is an old age of infirmity and pain; and disappointments, regrets, ignominies, and outrages to endure. In truth, if you really consider my situation, you ought to blame my intentions less than you do. I have lost all my friends and my dearest relatives: I am unfortunate in all the ways in which it is possible to be so: I have nothing to hope for; and I see my enemies treat me with derision, while their insolence prepares to trample me under foot. Alas!

"'Quand on a tout perdu, quand on n'a plus d'espoir,
La vie est un opprobre, et la mort un devoir:'

"I have nothing to add to this. I will only inform your curiosity that we passed the Elbe the day before yesterday; that to-morrow we march towards Leipsic, where I hope to be on the 31st, where I hope we shall have a battle, and from whence you shall receive news of us as they occur."*

That Frederic, deficient as he was in any religious feeling, should in moments of despair have looked to self-destruction to end his woes, is not to be wondered at. But these gloomy views appear never to have been of long duration; they soon gave way to better feelings, and to the renewed energies of a mind which was especially formed to struggle successfully against adversity.

* Dated 28th October, 1760.

CHAPTER IX.

Battle of Torgau—Saxony again falls into the Hands of Frederic—Campaign of Prince Ferdinand—State of Frederic's Resources—Death of George the Second—Unpaid Subsidy—Operations during the Winter—Prince Ferdinand commences the Campaign of 1761—Junction of Laudon and Butturlin—The King of Prussia in the Camp of Buntzelwitz—Schweidnitz taken by Laudon—Treachery of the Baron de Warkotch—Siege of Colberg by the Russians—Campaign of the Swedes—Plot of Trenck.

Frederic had passed the Elbe at Dessau on the 26th of October, and had united his forces with those under the command of Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg and General Hulsen. Proceeding onwards, he obliged the Prince of Deux-Ponts to a precipitate retreat, and regained possession of Leipsic. Daun, to arrest the king's progress, marched from Dresden to meet him, and placed himself at Torgau, in a camp on the hills of Siptitz, which had hitherto been considered unattackable. Frederic, however, was neither to be intimidated by the superior numbers of the Austrians nor by the strength of their position; and he determined, in consequence, forthwith upon attacking them.*

The battle of Torgau, perhaps the bloodiest fought during the whole war, took place on the 3d of November.† The evening before, the king is said to have assembled his generals, and to have addressed them in the following terms:—"I have called you together, not to ask your advice, but to inform you that to-morrow I shall attack Marshal Daun. I am aware that he occupies a strong position; but it is also one from which he cannot escape; and if I beat

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
† De la Monarchie Prussienne, par le Comte de Mirabeau.

him, all his army must be either taken prisoners or drowned in the Elbe. If, on the other hand, we are beaten, we must all perish; and I shall be the first to meet death. This war is become tedious, and you must all find it so: we will, if we can, finish it to-morrow. Ziethen, I confide to you the right wing of the army. Your object must be, in marching straight to Torgau, to cut off the retreat of the Austrians when I shall have beaten them, and driven them from the heights of Siptitz."* At the same time the King of Prussia delivered to the generals present a detailed account of the order of march and of battle to be observed on the following day, written with his own hand.†

The Prussian army advanced on the morning of the third in three columns through the forest of Torgau. Ziethen, as has been before mentioned, commanded the right wing, while the king, at the head of the left, advanced to attack the Austrians on their right flank. In passing through the forest the Prussians met the Austrian general, St. Ignon, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, who were all taken prisoners. Ziethen attacked the cavalry of Lacy, while Frederic, at the head of ten battalions of grenadiers, commenced the combat with Daun. That general, aware of the advantages of his position, had placed 200 cannons on the slope of the hill; the destructive fire of which obliged the Prussians to retire with incredible loss. Of the ten battalions who were led upon this occasion to the charge, there only remained alive the next day two small battalions of 300 men each. Fresh troops then came up, and made a fresh attack; and succeeded for the moment in gaining possession of the height, and in repulsing the Austrian infantry. But Daun did not suffer them long to enjoy this advantage; with his corps of reserve

* Recueil de Lettres de S. M. le Roi de Prusse, pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre dernière.

† Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

and cuirassiers he drove them back into the forest. The Prussian cavalry then commenced a prolonged contest, in which, though at times successful, they were eventually worsted by numbers.

Frederic, who seemed determined, as he had announced, to conquer or die, redoubled his attacks, and ordered Ziethen to approach and support him; but the latter was too much occupied in a doubtful combat with Lacy to be of much service to his master. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Prussians had not succeeded in gaining a foot of ground, though they had lost great numbers of men. The king and Daun were both wounded,—the former in the breast, the latter in the leg.* Both armies were fatigued, and had exhausted their ammunition; and nothing seemed to remain to the Prussians but a disastrous retreat. Daun felt so certain of this result that he actually despatched a letter to the empress-queen which contained these words:—"The just arms of your imperial majesty have to-day gained a complete victory over the King of Prussia."†

At this moment, however, some of the Prussian soldiers, before the night finally closed in, discovered a sort of causeway between two ponds leading to the hill, which the Austrians had neglected to guard. Colonel Möllendorf,‡ with part of the troops of Ziethen, passed it unobserved in the twilight; while General Saldern followed him with the infantry. The height behind Siptitz was taken by assault, and Ziethen and the king met victorious on the field of battle. Lacy made some vain attempts to regain his position, but the darkness of the night threw his soldiers into disorder, and prevented his offering any effectual resistance.§

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.—Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

† Vie de Frederic II.

‡ Afterward a field-marshal, governor of Berlin, and one of the most esteemed of the Prussian generals.

§ Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

The two armies passed the night under arms, and very near to one another; so much so that many soldiers on both sides were taken who missed their way and fell among detachments of their enemies. A similar fate might even have befallen Frederic, for he relates himself that in going to the village of Neiden his escort heard the trampling of men and horses. On asking who they were, they received for answer, *Austrians*. The Prussians upon this fell upon them suddenly and took them prisoners; and they then found out that they were a whole regiment of pandours with two cannons, who had lost their way.* Going a little further, they in like manner stumbled upon a regiment of Austrian carabineers, whom they charged and put to flight.†

The King of Prussia occupied part of the night in sitting by a fire with his soldiers, conversing with them. One of the grenadiers upon this occasion said familiarly to him, "I suppose, Fritz, after this you will give us good winter-quarters."—"Not till we have taken Dresden," replied Frederic; "when that is done, you shall have them to your heart's content." An inferior officer, who had distinguished himself much in the battle, and who had had his right-hand shot off, was brought to the king. Frederic commended him, and then asked him what recompense he should give him for the loss of his right-hand. "Sire," answered the wounded man, "only permit me to serve you with my left." Frederic was so much struck with the reply that he immediately promoted him. The king afterward retired into a village church, where he had his wound dressed, received the accounts of the state of the army, and gave his orders for the morrow.‡

The loss of the Prussians in the battle of Torgau

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.
† De la Monarchie Prussienne, par le Comte de Mirabeau.
‡ Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.—Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

amounted to 10,500; of whom 3900 were killed, 5100 wounded, and 1500 taken prisoners. The Austrians lost 17,000; of whom 3000 were killed, 6000 wounded, and 8000 taken prisoners. Among the latter were six generals and 216 officers. Fifty cannons and thirty standards fell into the hands of the Prussians. The Austrians, as usual, claimed the victory; but that they did so without the slightest reason is evident from the consequences of the battle. The first of these was the retreat of the Austrians beyond the Elbe during the night, from whence they fell back upon Dresden.* Frederic had expected the combat to be renewed the next day, and was agreeably surprised to find, when the morning dawned, that the enemy had decamped. Ziethen was sent in pursuit of the flying army, and took a good many stragglers prisoners.†

The further consequences of the bloody battle of Torgau, the last during the war in which Frederic commanded in person, were still more important. From its having so greatly weakened both parties, it concluded the campaign; and all Saxony, with the exception of Dresden, fell into the hands of Frederic.‡ He was also enabled, while taking up his own winter-quarters at Leipsic, to send troops into Silesia, the March of Brandenburgh, and Pomerania; and to drive the Austrians, the army of the empire, and the Swedes out of all those provinces while the Russians retired beyond the Vistula. Thus the King of Prussia, at the end of the campaign of 1760, found himself, with the exception of the loss of the fortress of Glatz, in much the same situation he was in at the commencement of it.§

The campaign of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick against the French during this year, though not so

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand. † *Ibid.*
‡ Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.
§ Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.—Recueil de Lettres de S. M. le Roi de Prusse, pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre dernière.

brilliant a one as that of 1759, was marked by several actions, in which that general and his nephew, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, distinguished themselves. The French entered upon the campaign with 130,000 men, of whom 100,000 were intended to act in Westphalia, and the remaining 30,000 on the Rhine. Marshal Broglio, who was the French commander-in-chief, was much perplexed by the jealousies of the generals serving under him, which prevented his undertaking any very definite plan against the allies. Prince Ferdinand was anxious, without delay, to give battle to the French; but his first attempt was not a successful one. The hereditary prince, who commanded the advanced guard, met the enemy near Corbach, and conceiving he had to do with a detachment only, attacked them. He soon found, however, that it was the main body of the French army; and as Prince Ferdinand was not able to advance to his assistance in time, he was obliged to retreat (which he did with great ability), after a considerable loss. This happened on the 9th of July; and on the 16th of the same month he was enabled to take his revenge upon the French, as he attacked a considerable corps of their army near Emsdorf, defeated it, and took 2000 prisoners, and all their cannons, baggage, and stores.*

Ferdinand in the course of the autumn also attacked 35,000 of the French troops who were posted near Warbourg, under the command of the Chevalier du Muy, put them to flight, killed 1500, and took 1600 prisoners, and ten pieces of cannon. The circumstance of there being no fortresses in Lower Saxony and Westphalia occasioned numerous skirmishes, with various results, which fatigued both parties. Towns and villages were taken and retaken. At length the great body of the French troops established themselves at Cassel, and Ferdinand employed

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans

himself in cutting off their convoys, and intercepting their communications. Meanwhile the hereditary prince had been sent to Cleves to drive the French from thence, and, if possible, to carry the war into France. He passed the Rhine, and besieged Wesel. Broglio sent a detachment, commanded by the Marquis de Castries, against him, who defeated the hereditary prince, and obliged him to retreat beyond the Rhine. A second encounter took place at Bruynen, in which the hereditary prince, in his turn, gained the victory. Towards the conclusion of the campaign, Prince Ferdinand besieged Göttingen, in which the Marshal Broglio had placed a strong garrison. He blockaded it for twenty days, at the end of which the garrison made so successful a sortie, that he was obliged to raise the siege, and to return to his occupation of observing the great French army encamped at Cassel.

During the winter, Tottleben made frequent incursions into Pomerania; but General Werner repulsed him successfully, and finally concluded a truce with the Russian commander till the month of May.*

At this advanced period of the war, Frederic, in addition to the enormous disproportion which always existed between his forces and those of the formidable league which was banded together for his destruction, had to encounter, in a very eminent degree, the difficulties arising from a want of recruits and of provisions. His losses in men had been excessive. It has been calculated that almost every regiment in his whole army was recruited to the amount of at least 3000 men each, during the course of the war we are now treating of. How these recruits were obtained it is still difficult to say; but the activity and ability of Frederic himself appear to have overcome apparent impossibilities in procuring supplies of men for his enfeebled army. Deserters, prisoners,

* Müller Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand

peasants, were alike enrolled; and even boys of the tenderest age were not exempt from the compulsory proceedings of the Prussian pressgangs. This was also the case with regard even to the officers, who were the sons of gentlemen.* The historian of the seven years' war, Archenholz, informs us that he himself was compelled to join in the campaign of 1758 when he was not yet fourteen years old.† The other difficulty, that of obtaining provisions for troops stationed in the midst of provinces which had been many times devastated and laid waste, was not a less formidable one. The King of Prussia, however, even in this case, managed to vanquish the obstacles which stood in his way, and by dint of incredible exertions, and a judicious expenditure of money, again to fill his magazines. The Prussians were, however, so much exhausted by their previous labours, that the campaign of 1761 became necessarily, on their side, with the exception of partial encounters, one of defence.

Another calamity occurred at this period of the war to Frederic, in the death of George the Second, King of England, who expired on the 25th of October, 1760. This prince had always hated his nephew, but he loved his native electorate of Hanover; and his government was directed by Pitt, who saw that the abasement of France was only to be obtained by a cordial support of the King of Prussia. Hence the subsidiary treaties which were continued from year to year, and the assistance, both moral and physical, afforded to the Prussian sovereign. But the new monarch, George the Third, was governed by an unpopular favourite, Lord Bute, who had risen to power from the obscurity to which a poor Scotch peer was then generally condemned, by the personal favour of the king's mother, the princess-dowager. He appears to have been a man ignorant of the bear

* Campagnes de Frederic II., par M. de W.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

ings of foreign policy, and undistinguished by statesmanlike qualities. His object, from whatever cause proceeding, was to obtain peace, which he thought would be best effected by not supplying to the King of Prussia the means of continuing the war. Hence, though in compliance with the wishes of the parliament and of the nation, a fresh subsidiary treaty between England and Prussia was entered into in December, 1760, it was the last which was made between the two countries; and even the payment of part of the sum thus agreed to be given to Frederic was deferred, and finally, according to the foreign historians, eluded altogether.*

The truth of this latter allegation is strongly confirmed by many passages in the Mitchell papers now preserved in the British Museum,† although no continued and detailed account of the transaction occurs in them. The same documents also show most clearly the general unfriendliness of England to Prussia from the moment that Lord Bute was intrusted with the reins of government in the former kingdom. It appears from this correspondence that one of the plans of the British cabinet, in the beginning of 1762, was to obtain the usual Prussian subsidy from parliament, which, from the extreme popularity of the King of Prussia in the country, they did not dare to omit; but not to renew the subsidiary treaty with that monarch, which bound them down to time as to the payment of the money; thus leaving it entirely in their power to starve him into submission. "This expedient," writes Sir A. Mitchell to Lord Bute, "they (i. e. the ministers of the King of Prussia in London) observe, leaves the king their master at the mercy of his ally, without any consideration, in case of a separate peace between England and France, and cannot fail to render the

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

† Correspondence between Sir Andrew Mitchell, English minister at the court of Frederic and the British government, from 1756 to 1763. MS.

King of Prussia's enemies more obstinate and inveterate, for they will consider him as entirely abandoned by England."*

Again, in another letter, in which Mitchell gives an account of an interview he had had with Count Finckenstein, one of the Prussian ministers, and in which he told the count, that the same sum was to be demanded from parliament, by way of subsidy to Prussia, as in former years, but without a fresh treaty, he goes on to say, "To this the count objected, that by not renewing the treaty, the king his master was left, in a manner, without an ally, depending solely upon the ancient treaties that subsisted between the two crowns before the war; that this unexpected step could not fail to encourage the King of Prussia's enemies, and to confirm them in their aversion to hearken to any terms of accommodation with him, whom they represent as abandoned by England; that he, Count Finckenstein, could have wished the treaty to have been renewed, as it had been in former years, &c. &c."—"The count then observed, that by the method now adopted, no consideration whatever was given to the king his master, in case of a separate peace, and that he was left entirely at the mercy of the English ministers; who, of late, seemed to vary very much in their opinions."†

In a subsequent letter, addressed to Mr. Keith, then British envoy at Petersburg, Mitchell seems to agree in the view taken by Count Finckenstein of the feelings of the English government towards Prussia at this juncture; for he says, "I am sorry to find, that for some time past the king's ministers seem to have some jealousy of the King of Prussia:

* Letter of Sir Andrew Mitchell to Lord Bute, dated Magdeburgh, 16th January, 1762.

† Letter of Sir Andrew Mitchell to Lord Bute, dated Madgeburgh, 26th January, 1762.

the ground of it is, I own, unknown to me."* Finally, in a letter to Mr. George Grenville, he alludes more distinctly to the withholding of the subsidy, while giving an account of a conversation he had held with Finckenstein. Upon this occasion he says, "*I set forth his majesty's true motives for withholding, in the present circumstances, the subsidy granted to his Prussian majesty in former years;* assuring the count, at the same time, that the king never had, nor has now, the least thought of abandoning the King of Prussia to his enemies, nor of deserting his alliance. All which Count Finckenstein promised faithfully to report to the king his master."†

Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick was the first general who took the field for the campaign of 1761. On the 11th of February, his army advanced in four columns, and attacked, on all sides, the French quarters near Cassel. His arrival and onset were so unexpected, that the French were speedily thrown into confusion, and compelled to fly. This advantage was followed by another, gained by the Prussian General Sybourg. He had been sent, with a corps of troops, to unite with the Hanoverian General Sporken, in order thus to cause a diversion in the forces of the enemy, which might be favourable to the designs of Prince Ferdinand. A body of French and Saxons, under the command of the Count de Stainville, endeavoured to prevent the junction, but were beaten by General Sybourg, who took 3000 prisoners, four cannons, and six standards. The Hanoverians and Prussians, having united, advanced against the troops of the empire, commanded by General Clefeld; and on the 2d of April took 1100 prisoners, nine cannons, and five standards.‡

* Letter of Sir Andrew Mitchell to Mr. Keith, dated Magdeburgh, 2d April, 1762.

† Letter from Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Right Hon. George Grenville, dated Breslau, 13th June, 1762.

‡ Muller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.—Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

Prince Ferdinand now placed his army so as to carry on, at the same time, the sieges of Cassel, Marbourg, and Ziegenhayn; but the inexperience of his engineers, the want of ammunition, and the badness of the roads, which retarded the arrival of his supplies, occasioned his failing in these attempts. At the same time, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, whose detachment had advanced towards Frankfort with a view of observing the French, was attacked by Broglio and the whole French army. Overcome by numbers, he was obliged to retreat with loss. This was followed by the defeat of the detachment of Prince Ferdinand's army which was occupied in the siege of Ziegenhayn; and under all the circumstances of the case, the prince deemed it advisable to raise the sieges he had undertaken, to evacuate the country of Hesse, and to retire into that of Hanover. This, however, he effected with so much skill, that Marshal Broglio did not venture to follow him.

After these events, the hostile armies remained tranquil till the month of July, when the Prince of Soubise, arriving to the assistance of Broglio, with great reinforcements, encouraged the latter general to march against the combined army of English and Hanoverians. Ferdinand, perceiving the design of the French generals to attack him, posted himself in the intrenched camp of Hohenower.* On the 15th of July Marshal Broglio endeavoured to drive him from his position. For five hours the French army exposed itself with great bravery to the deadly fire of the Hanoverians, but without gaining a foot of ground in advance. At length, a judicious movement on the part of Prince Ferdinand threw them into complete disorder, and they fled, leaving behind them their killed and wounded, and several pieces

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.—Histoire de la Guerre de Sept ans, par Frederic II.

of cannon. The loss of the French upon this occasion amounted to 5000 men; that of the allies only to 300 killed, and 1000 wounded.* A few days after this victory, the joy of Prince Ferdinand was damped by the loss of his nephew, Prince Albert Henry of Brunswick, who was killed in a skirmish.

In spite of the success in arms of Prince Ferdinand, he would have found himself in a very dangerous position at this moment, in consequence of the excessive superiority of the French forces, had it not been for the jealousies which existed between the two generals Soubise and Broglio. These at length became so great that they divided their army and marched different ways. The Prince of Soubise passing the River Rohr; and the Marshal Broglio marching towards Cassel. From thence the latter proposed to advance into Hanover. Ferdinand, who had also been obliged to divide his army into two parts, in order to observe the two divisions of the French troops, was not strong enough to prevent Broglio, by force, from entering Hanover; and he had therefore recourse to a stratagem. He marched into Hesse, and thereby cut off the communication of the French with that country. Broglio, as his able enemy had expected, grew frightened, and retreated.

Meanwhile, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick had prevented the Prince of Soubise from besieging Munster, and had himself destroyed many of his magazines. Thus checked, the French had nothing to do but to occupy themselves with devastating the countries they were in possession of, which they did in the most cruel manner. They took some towns in the duchy of Brunswick, and plundered them; but were obliged afterward, by the hereditary prince, to give them up; and, having also failed in an attempt upon the imperial town of Bremen,

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

they finally took up their winter-quarters,—Broglio at Cassel, and Soubise in the district called the Lower Rhine. Prince Ferdinand, who, during the autumn, had besieged Göttingen without success, established his winter-quarters in Westphalia.

In the course of the month of April General Laudon, at the head of an Austrian army, penetrated into Silesia, and obliged General Golz, who commanded there with a small body of troops, to retire under the walls of Schweidnitz. As soon as the news of these movements reached the King of Prussia, he assembled his army near Meissen, delegated the command of it to his brother Prince Henry, and then, with a detachment passed the Elbe himself, near Strehlen, and hastened to the assistance of Golz. The approach of Frederic obliged Laudon to retire into Bohemia, and to wait there for the co-operation of the Russians, who were advancing in several columns towards the frontiers of Silesia under the command of Field-Marshal Butterlin; while another Russian army, headed by General Romanzow, entered Pomerania, and, supported by the Swedes, obliged General Werner and Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg to retire into an intrenched camp near Colberg.*

Laudon and Butterlin made various attempts to effect a junction of their respective armies, but were for some time prevented by the skilful and masterly movements of the King of Prussia; though his forces consisted only of 50,000 men, while those of Austria amounted to 60,000, and those of Russia to 70,000 men.† At length, however, Butterlin, having bombarded Breslau, succeeded in passing the Oder, and in joining Laudon near Striegau on the 12th of August. They now thought the escape of the Prussians from their united and enormous forces impossible; but Frederic, as usual, baffled their

* Muller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

hopes. Unwilling to trust himself in the open country, under such a disadvantage in numbers, he took possession of the camp of Buntzelwitz, and intrenched himself so judiciously, that the allied army was unable to attack him.*

This celebrated camp is thus described by a contemporary historian, who was himself at the time an officer in the Prussian service:—"This great work bore the impress of the king's genius upon it. It was constructed with a degree of skill, as well as of rapidity, of which there has been no example in any of the wars of modern times. The centre of the camp was at the distance of a German mile from Schweidnitz. The space in which the infantry was placed was defended by a chain of intrenchments with ditches, which were joined together by four-and-twenty great batteries. Before these intrenchments were placed palisadoes and chevaux-de-frises, and three rows of trenches, each six feet deep. Each battery had two mines near it, which could be fired without difficulty by means of communications with the battery. The king had taken from Schweidnitz 150 pieces of cannon to garnish these batteries. The camp of Buntzelwitz, in this state, resembled a real fortress, and was entirely unattackable. If the nature of the fortifications was extraordinary, the promptitude with which they were constructed was still more so. These vast works were completed in three days and three nights. On the left wing, at the extreme point of the intrenchments, were placed, in a flat spot, ninety squadrons of cavalry."†

That which the King of Prussia had anticipated soon came to pass; the allied army blockaded his camp; but they were prevented from continuing in the position they had taken, for a sufficient length of time to effect their purpose, by the want of provisions. The country round them was exhausted,

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

and famine began to appear in their camp. At this moment they learned that General Platen, whom the King of Prussia had sent, at the head of 7000 men, to harass their rear and cut off their supplies, had succeeded in capturing a convoy, consisting of 5000 provision-wagons, that he had beaten the escort accompanying it, and taken 1900 prisoners, and had also destroyed three of the largest magazines of the Russians on the borders of Poland. This intelligence determined the Austrian and Russian generals upon raising the blockade of the camp of Buntzelwitz, and separating their troops. Butterlin marched into Pomerania, to assist in the siege of Colberg, leaving Czernichef, with a detachment of 20,000 Russians, at the orders of Laudon, who retired to an intrenched camp near Fribourg. The retreat of the allied army, which took place on the 13th of September, diffused a general joy through the Prussian camp. The Prussian soldiers had suffered much in their intrenchments from the fatigues they were obliged to undergo, in order to be always prepared for any attack that might be made upon them by the enemy. It is true they were encouraged in their labours, by seeing them equally endured by their sovereign; but the great heat of the weather occasioned diseases in the camp, which, joined to the want of all provisions except bread, rendered the condition of the soldiers sufficiently grievous. They therefore received the news of the departure of the Austrians and Russians as they would have done that of a victory.*

Frederic remained one fortnight in his position at Buntzelwitz, after he was delivered from his enemies; and then, with a view of deceiving Laudon, and drawing him from his camp, he marched towards Upper Silesia, and thereby placed himself at the distance of two days' journey from Schweidnitz. No

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans

sooner was Laudon made aware of the king's departure than, instead of following him, he determined to take advantage of his absence, to make an attack upon the important fortress of Schweidnitz. He therefore sent General Draskowitz with a detachment to observe the movements of the Prussians; and then, with the rest of his army, made, by night, a general assault upon Schweidnitz. The governor, General Zastrow, though taken by surprise, made all the preparations he was able for the purpose of defending himself; but, though he did so with great bravery, his garrison was too feeble to make a long resistance. He had not even a sufficient number of cannoniers to fire the artillery. After a bloody combat of three hours, the works were all in the possession of the assailants, and 3300 Prussians were made prisoners.*

The Russians, of whom a detachment were united with the army of Laudon, and who had been made drunk with brandy by their commanders, rushed on to the assault with a reckless impetuosity. They suddenly and unexpectedly found themselves on the brink of a fosse full of water, of the existence of which they were not previously aware; but even this could not arrest their progress. The foremost ranks were pushed into the ditch and drowned, and their comrades made their dead bodies a bridge, over which they passed into the town, carrying desolation with them, and crying out at the same time, "We give no quarter!"† Schweidnitz was taken by the earliest dawn on the 1st of October. Blame appears to have attached to Zastrow for not having anticipated an attack; so little had he done so, that he was at a ball, when he first heard of the approach of the Austrians.‡

This unlooked-for disaster deranged the plan for the rest of the campaign, which the King of Prussia

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
‡ Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

had intended to carry into effect. He was obliged only to think of preserving as many fortresses and as much territory as the immense superiority of his enemies in point of numbers permitted. He therefore established himself in a camp near Strehlen, and strengthened the garrisons of Neisse, Brieg, Cosel, Breslau, and Glogau. On the other hand, the Austrians were enabled, for the first time since the commencement of the war, to take up their winter-quarters in Silesia.‡

While the King of Prussia was encamped under the walls of Strehlen, he narrowly escaped being betrayed into the hands of the Austrians. The traitor who lent himself to this base enterprise was the Baron de Warkotsch, a Silesian gentleman whose estates were situated near Strehlen. He had come to the king's head-quarters, and was received by him with much kindness. This did not, however, deter Warkotsch from his infamous design, but rather encouraged him to it; as it enabled him to observe how negligent Frederic was of precautions for his own security, and how few soldiers formed his ordinary guard. He communicated his intention to the Austrian commanders, who caught at it eagerly, and promised him a donation of 100,000 crowns as a recompense. A priest, named Schmidt, was also in the plot; and the plan arranged was, that the King of Prussia should be carried off during the night through a wood which was close to his quarters, and which also led to those of Laudon. The executors of this abduction were to be a troop of Austrian hussars, commanded by a determined leader. The detail of the plan was arranged by letters, which passed between Warkotsch and Schmidt. The servant who carried them became, at length, from the frequency of the correspondence, suspicious respecting its object. He opened a letter, which contained

‡ Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans. par Frederic II.

sufficient details to explain to him what was meditated, and, struck with horror, carried it forthwith to Frederic, who thus escaped one of the greatest dangers he had ever encountered. Warkotsch and Schmidt made their escape out of a window, just as they were on the point of being arrested. Warkotsch's property was confiscated; and the two traitors were executed in effigy. When the sentence for this ceremony was brought to Frederic to sign, he said, "I consent to it; for I suppose the copies are worth as little as the originals."* Shortly after this occurrence, the King of Prussia placed his troops in winter-quarters along the course of the Oder from Brieg to Glogau, and established his own head-quarters at Breslau.

The only other remarkable event of the campaign of 1761 which remains to be related is the siege of Colberg, a fortress in Pomerania, situated on the shores of the Baltic, which was blockaded by the Russians, under the command of Romanzow. Early in the month of September, the Russians began their attacks; but Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg had posted himself so judiciously, that for a considerable time the Russians obtained no advantage. They were, however, more fortunate in taking General Werner and the detachment he commanded prisoners. In the beginning of the month of October, General Platen arrived with a reinforcement at the camp of the Prince of Wurtemberg; but, on the other hand, a large body of troops, under the command of the Prince Dolgoroucki, joined themselves to the army of Romanzow. The evolutions of both parties,—on the side of the Russians to form the siege of Colberg regularly, and on that of the Prussians to prevent their effecting this, continued for some time without much success to either; but were peculiarly honourable to the skill and valour of the

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

Prussians, who, with greatly inferior forces, kept at bay the vast armies of their assailants.

At length the Prussians became so much weakened by their losses of men in various partial encounters, that their enemies were enabled to cut off their communication with Colberg, and to prevent their sending provisions into the place.* They then attacked the town, and summoned it to surrender. The officer who was sent on this errand was received by the commander, Heyden, in the presence of several soldiers of the garrison. "Comrades," said Heyden, "we are summoned to surrender; what think you of it?"—"Do not do any such thing, colonel," replied those appealed to; "let us defend ourselves as long as either powder or bread remains to us." Heyden immediately sent the officer back with this answer. About the middle of November, Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg endeavoured to restore his communications with Colberg, and to throw provisions and succours into the place; but the Russians, who received constantly fresh reinforcements, were too numerous for him to dare to attack them, and he was obliged to retire, with difficulty, to Stargard. Frederic also sent provisions and reinforcements to Colberg, but none were ever able to reach it; and while thus famine was beginning to be felt severely in the town, the besieging army was amply supplied with provisions by the fleet, which blockaded the fortress by sea.

Heyden, however, still defended himself; and taking advantage of the severity of the season, he poured water on the walls, which freezing, rendered them sufficiently slippery to prevent any successful attempt at scaling them.† As long as the bread, doled out as it was at the rate of one pound per day to each soldier, lasted, the brave Heyden defended himself successfully. At length it failed him, and he was then reluctantly obliged, on the 16th of De

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
† Vie de Frederic II.

cember, to open the gates to the Russians; who were enabled by this conquest, for the first time, to take up their winter-quarters in Pomerania and the New March of Brandenburgh.

The troops of Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg were at this time in the duchy of Mecklenburg; and those of General Platen and of Prince Henry of Prussia in Saxony. The latter had made head successfully in that country, though keeping himself always on the defensive during the whole campaign, against the Austrian army of Marshal Daun, that of the empire, commanded by Generals Serbelloni and Stolberg, and that of the Saxons, who had their own prince Albert as their leader.*

The campaign of the Swedes against the Prussians was not marked, during this year, with any important events; though several partial and undecisive skirmishes had taken place between Ehrenschwerd, the general of the former, and Generals Stutterheim and Belling, who conducted the latter. About this time a plot was discovered for betraying the important fortress of Magdeburg to the Austrians. Magdeburg was, in fact, the citadel of the Prussian monarchy, and its fall must have entailed upon Frederic the most disastrous consequences; and indeed, would probably have obliged him to end the war at once, and on whatever terms his ruthless enemies might think proper to grant to him. In it were deposited the public archives, the king's treasure, and a vast property belonging to individuals, which had been collected there for safety, from all the surrounding country. It was, besides, the spot where the magazines, both for provisions and ammunition for the different Prussian armies, were preserved. Nothing could have been more fatal to the king than its loss.†

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.—Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.—Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans

The project was due to Frederic Baron Trenck, whose unhappy history has been related in a previous part of this work, and who was at this time loaded with chains, and confined in a solitary dungeon under the fortifications of the town. By the aid of money, which he obtained from his friends at Vienna and Berlin, and by means of his own indefatigable activity, he had established communications with some Austrian officers who were prisoners of war; and had prepared for his own escape by undermining the fortifications. The plan intended to be executed was, to release the Austrian prisoners, amounting to 16,000 men, and with their aid to master the garrison, then consisting only of about 900 men; a few of whom, even including some officers, were friendly to Trenck. The discovery of this formidable conspiracy was due to the treachery of some of the persons at Vienna, with whom Trenck communicated, who sent his correspondence to the King of Prussia.† Magdeburg was thus saved; and Trenck was watched with greater vigilance than ever.

CHAPTER X.

Death of the Empress of Russia—The new Emperor assists Frederic—Alliance between Prussia and the Khan of the Tartars—Unfriendly Dispositions of the English Government to Frederic—Peace between Prussia and Sweden—Operations of the Different Armies—Murder of the Emperor of Russia—Combat of Reichenbach—Frederic retakes Schweidnitz—Battle of Freyberg—Campaign of Prince Ferdinand—Further Successes of the Prussians—Peace of Hubertsbourg—Reflections on the Seven Years' War.

The year 1762 commenced with an event so favourable to Prussia, that it may be considered as a complete compensation, not only for the loss of Schweidnitz and Colberg, but also for the state of

† Mémoires de Frederic Baron de Trenck.

exhaustion in every way to which the Prussian monarchy was reduced. On the 8th of January, 1762, died the implacable enemy of Frederic, Elizabeth Empress of Russia.* She had been originally made personally hostile to him, from some sarcasms with regard to her morals and habits of life, which the King of Prussia had imprudently ventured upon; as well as from the notion, perhaps not unfounded, that he had been aware of certain plots against her crown, which had been discovered in her own court: and these feelings were fostered and augmented by her successive lovers and ministers, who were gained by the money of the court of Vienna. Her nephew and successor, the unfortunate Peter the Third, differed entirely from her with regard to the King of Prussia, of whom he was the warmest admirer and most sedulous imitator. The dying empress, aware of the disposition of her nephew, exacted a solemn promise from the senate, that they would continue the war, and never conclude it without the concurrence of the other allies.†

Like other sovereigns, though, who have endeavoured to perpetuate their sway beyond the term of their natural lives, her orders, from the moment her eyes were closed, were disregarded. One of the first acts of the reign of Peter was to communicate to Frederic assurances of his friendship; which he did through the channel of the Count de Hordt, a Swedish officer in the Prussian service, who had been taken prisoner by the Russians about two years previously, and who, during the reign of Elizabeth, had been treated in his confinement with great rig-

* Elizabeth had inherited from her father, Peter the Great, the talent of government; and she was also distinguished for a quality which he did not possess, that of clemency. Her reign was marked by ameliorations and improvements of various kinds, and of great importance to the best interests of Russia.

† Archenholz. Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.—Art de verifier es Dates.

our.* Peter, upon his accession, released him, (as he did also all the other Prussian prisoners in his dominions), loaded him with favours, and employed him to transmit to his master his own enthusiastic expressions of devotion and admiration. This was followed by more solid advantages. A suspension of arms between the Russians and Prussians was agreed to; and soon afterward a treaty of alliance was concluded. At the same time, an intimate correspondence was carried on between the two sovereigns; and Peter even became the colonel of a regiment in his Prussian majesty's service, and constantly wore the uniform of it, to the great dissatisfaction of his own subjects. He was also accustomed to kiss the portrait of the King of Prussia, calling him his friend, and his master; while he never failed to praise him extravagantly upon all occasions.†

Early in the spring the Russian auxiliaries, commanded by Czernichef, who, to the number of 20,000 men, were united with the Austrian army of Laudon, received orders to withdraw themselves from him, to march into Poland, and finally to join themselves to the King of Prussia, and to act under his orders. At the same time, the Russian troops evacuated Prussia, Pomerania, and the New March of Brandenburgh, and gave up Colberg. This change from hostility to friendship was so sudden, and appeared so marvellous, that the Austrian officers who were prisoners at Breslau, and who witnessed it, without being aware of the causes which led to it, were for some time skeptical as to its reality. When they saw Czernichef and other Russian generals arrive in that city to attend the court of the King of Prussia, they imagined that they were in reality Prussiar

* Mémoires du Comte de Hordt.
† Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.

officers, who had been dressed up in Russian uniforms and orders, to induce a belief in the friendly dispositions of Russia.

Shortly before the favourable change in the Prussian relations with Russia took place Frederic, who in his perilous situation, caught at any hope of assistance, however uncertain, had contracted an alliance with the Khan of the Tartars. That barbarian ruler agreed, upon condition of receiving a certain subsidy, to make an irruption into Russia. Subsequent events prevented his being called upon to perform his promise. Frederic was also in negotiation with the Grand Seignior, with the view of inducing him to cause a diversion, by attacking the Austrian provinces which border the Turkish empire. He was so far successful, that the Ottoman government assembled a large army on the frontiers near Belgrade; which, although it abstained from active hostilities, gave great anxieties to the imperial court.†

On the other hand, the disposition of the English government became every day less friendly to Prussia. Pitt, disgusted at the influence and policy of Lord Bute, had thrown up his office. Lord Bute, whose object was to obtain peace upon any terms, was anxious with this view, as has been already mentioned, to crush the King of Prussia. He therefore commenced negotiations with the several courts; but his manner of conducting them at once showed his ignorance and his incapacity. He charged the Prince Gallitzin, the Russian ambassador in England, to inform the emperor that whatever portions of the Prussian territories he might wish for, he would take care to obtain for him, provided he would still allow his troops to act with the Austrians.‡ Peter was so indignant at this proposition, that he immediately sent the despatch con-

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II. ‡ *Ibid*

taining it to the King of Prussia.* To the court of Vienna, Lord Bute proposed to make a peace with England, from which Prussia was to be excluded. At the same time he offered to guaranty to the empress queen whichever of the Prussian provinces it would be most agreeable to her to become possessed of. To his surprise, this proposition was also coldly received, and dryly declined; for Kaunitz the imperial minister fancied, that the object of Lord Bute was to cause a quarrel between the court of Vienna and that of Versailles. At the same

* In the Mitchell Papers, in the British Museum, is the following curious letter from Sir A. Mitchell to Lord Bute, upon this subject :—

"Private and confidential.

"My Lord, Breslau, 3d May, 1762.

"Two days after I had my audience of the King of Prussia, Count Finckenstein came to me, and told me he had the king his master's permission to communicate to me something of importance, by way of *private confidence*, which, however, must remain a secret. I answered, I was much obliged to his Prussian majesty; that he might assure him I should make no bad use of any thing he was pleased to trust me with. The count then read to me a paper, which contained an account of a conversation your lordship was supposed to have had with Prince Gallitzin, just after the news of the late Empress of Russia's death, and at the time Mr. Wraughton was named as resident, which conversation Prince Gallitzin is supposed to have communicated to an intimate friend of his under the seal of secrecy. Lord Bute told Prince Gallitzin Mr. Wraughton was sent to Russia with instructions for him and Mr. Keith to cultivate and extend the friendship between the two courts, &c.; that one of his instructions was, to persuade the emperor to concur in making a general peace; and for that end it was hoped the czar would not withdraw his troops from the Prussian territories, as Lord Bute could not persuade himself that the emperor would prefer the alliance with the King of Prussia to the natural alliance with the House of Austria; that by not withdrawing the troops, the King of Prussia would be under the necessity of making considerable cessions to the House of Austria; that it was not the intention of England to make eternal war to please the King of Prussia; that England wanted just to save him, but wished that prince could be brought to make considerable cessions; that about six weeks ago Mr. Mitchell had been wrote to to sound the Prussian ministers at Magdeburgh what cessions might be expected, and that no answer was yet received, nor did Lord Bute believe it would be a favourable one," &c.

* * * * * * *

"I have only to add, that I am informed his Prussian majesty, upon first receiving this intelligence, was almost furious, and to this moment cannot talk with temper upon the subject. I am, &c.

"ANDREW MITCHELL

"The Earl of Bute."

time, the Austrian pride was insulted by the propo sal; and the answer given to the British advances was, that the empress queen was sufficiently powerful to enforce for herself her own pretensions. A negotiation was also opened between England and the court of France. M. de Bussy came to England to conduct it; while Mr. Hans Stanley was sent to Paris with similar instructions.

The peace between Russia and Sweden was followed by one concluded betw en Prussia and Sweden; and this change in the circumstances of Frederic obliged his enemies, at the commencement of the campaign, to take a lesson from *his* conduct during the preceding one, and to act on the defensive.*

In the month of May, Frederic assembled his troops in the camp of Betlern. His nephew, the young Prince Frederic William, who eventually succeeded him on the throne, made this year his first campaign, under the eye of his heroic uncle. Prince Henry, who was posted in Saxony, having united his forces with those commanded by General Belling (who, after the cessation of hostilities by the Swedes, had been enabled to leave the territory of Mecklenburgh), advanced, and by a very skilful movement prevented the union of the Austrians with the army of the empire, commanded by Serbelloni. In the course of his manœuvres he attacked Serbelloni, took 1500 prisoners and three cannons, and then established himself near Freyberg. Serbelloni, anxious to retrieve his credit, shortly afterward attacked the advanced guard of the prince's army; but was repulsed, with the loss of 1000 men.† Early in the month of June, the King of Prussia, having united to his own forces those of the Russians commanded by Czernichef, as well as the detachments commanded by Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg and

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
† *Ibid.*—Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

the Duke of Bevern (which had arrived from Mecklenburgh and Pomerania), marched towards Schweidnitz, and succeeded in dislodging Daun from an almost impregnable position near Burkersdorf. On this occasion the Austrians lost 1400 men killed, and 800 taken prisoners, and fourteen cannons; and Daun was obliged to retire among the mountains as far as Tannhausen.*

This last exploit was performed at the moment when Frederic had just been informed of the revolution so fatal to the Prussian interests which had taken place in Russia. Peter the Third, who had given notice of his intention of even marching in person to assist in the campaign of the King of Prussia, was dethroned on the 9th of July, and his wife Catherine declared Empress of Russia. The military and the church had united in this conspiracy against their sovereign, whose innovations had disgusted them.† The Empress Catherine, on the other hand, had acquired great popularity; and the hatred of the people and of the nobles against Peter was increased by his bad treatment of her. For some time she bore his conduct with patience; but at length his threats of repudiating her, and shutting her up in a monastery, and even setting aside her son from the succession, obliged her to join with the conspirators; and the revolution was consummated by the murder of the unhappy monarch. Catherine immediately sent orders to Czernichef to separate his troops from those of Prussia, and to march them into Poland; and her first intention was to resume hostilities against the Prussian sovereign.‡

It was during the three days' delay which were afforded to Czernichef to quit the Prussian army, that Frederic made the successful attack upon the

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.
† Rulhiere, Histoire de la Révolution de Russie
‡ Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

Austrians, which has just been mentioned. "These three days," as he observes himself, in giving an account of his plan, "were most precious; and it became necessary to profit by them, in order to strike some decisive blow. The presence of the Russians frightened the Austrians, who were, besides, ignorant of the revolution which had taken place. It was absolutely necessary to retake Schweidnitz, or to be contented with no other quarters than those which had been occupied along the Oder during last year. If this campaign elapsed without any success being obtained, the efforts which had been made to reconquer the half of Silesia would prove of no use, and all hope of peace would vanish. These reasons determined the king to give something to chance; and he acted with greater boldness and temerity than he would have hazarded in more favourable conjunctures."*

The Russians were convinced that the innovations attempted by Peter the Third, which had excited such general dissatisfaction, were suggested to him by his Prussian mentor; and the latter was therefore most unpopular throughout the empire. The new empress at first gave way to the general feeling; sent the orders to her general, which have been before related; and declared Frederic, in her manifesto, "the most dangerous enemy of Russia." Hardly, however, had this condemnation of the King of Prussia been published when Catherine had an opportunity of reading the correspondence of Frederic with her late husband, which was found among his papers. She then discovered, not only that Frederic gave his imperial ally the wisest and best advice upon public matters, and that he blamed the changes executed by Peter against the wishes of his subjects, but that he had also counselled the emperor to behave well to herself; and had con-

* Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II

jured him, even if he could not show her tenderness, to treat her with the respect and attention which was due to her situation. Catherine, it is said, was moved even to tears at this discovery. She showed the letters to the principal persons of her court, who all allowed the injustice of their previous opinions against the Prussian sovereign.* She in consequence determined upon maintaining the treaty existing with that monarch; but her troops were, nevertheless, withdrawn from the Prussian army; and she resolved to remain, as far as concerned active warfare, in a state of neutrality: not wishing, at so early a period of her rule, to involve herself in hostilities with Austria.†

The next event of importance in the campaign was the combat of Reichenbach, between the Austrians and the Prussians, which took place on the 16th of August. Daun, who was intent upon saving Schweidnitz, thought he had found an opportunity for destroying the detachment commanded by the Duke of Bevern, which was placed in a separate position from the rest of the Prussian army. Such an event would entirely have deranged Frederic's plans for the campaign. Daun sent the Generals Lacy, Beck, O'Donnell, and St. Ignon with separate corps, to attack the Duke of Bevern on all sides at once. The duke received the onsets of these various enemies with skill and firmness; but their numbers were so preponderating that he was upon the point of giving way, when an unexpected reinforcement changed the face of affairs. Frederic, who had divined the intentions of Daun before they were executed had sent the Prince of Wurtemberg with the whole of his cavalry to the assistance of the Duke of Bevern.‡ The Prince of Wurtemberg fell upon the corps of O'Donnell and put them to flight;

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.
‡ Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederi [illegible].

and the light artillery of the Prussians coming up at this moment, followed by Frederic in person at the head of a body of infantry, the Austrians were obliged on all sides to retreat, and to return to their camps; having lost 1200 men killed and wounded, 1500 prisoners, and seven standards. The loss of the Prussians amounted to 1010 killed and wounded. The next day the Austrian army retired to Glatz.*

The action of Reichenbach, in fact, sealed the fate of Schweidnitz; for all communication being now cut off between the Austrian army and the fortress, the brave commander, Guasco, was at length obliged to capitulate. The siege lasted sixty-four days, during which great skill was manifested both in the attack and defence. At length, a great powder-magazine was blown up, which also damaged a part of the fortifications. Upon this, preparations were made for a general assault; but General Guasco did not wait for it. He demanded to capitulate on the 10th of October; and surrendered himself, 218 officers, and 9000 men prisoners. The loss of the Austrians during the siege, in killed and wounded, amounted to 3500 men; that of the Prussians to 3030.†

When General Guasco went, with his officers, to pay their respects to the King of Prussia, the latter said to them, "Gentlemen, you have given a brilliant example for those who wish to defend fortresses to imitate; your defence has cost me altogether above 8000 men." This calculation of Frederic of course included the skirmishes and engagements to which his anxiety to obtain possession of Schweidnitz had given rise.‡

As soon as this important conquest was achieved, the King of Prussia detached General Schmettau to the assistance of his brother Prince Henry in Saxony;

* Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand
† Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans
‡ Art de verifier les Datos

and he soon followed himself, leaving the Duke of Bevern to protect Silesia. To this commander Laudon was opposed; and they shortly afterward concluded an armistice together, while Daun marched into Saxony. The army of the empire, now in Saxony, and to which was added a considerable body of Austrian troops, was commanded by Serbelloni and the Prince of Stolberg. They had compelled at one moment Prince Henry to retreat from his camp at Freyberg; but this success did not long remain to them. Prince Henry again advanced, and determined upon giving battle to the enemy. He commenced, assisted by General Seidlitz, by driving before him the light troops of the Austrians. He then, soon after daybreak, attacked the Austro-imperial army in its intrenchments. The action lasted till two in the afternoon, when the army of the allies gave way, and fled to the other side of the town of Freyberg, which they abandoned, and even beyond the river Mulda. The Prussians lost, in the battle of Freyberg, 2400 killed and wounded; on the side of the allies there were 3000 killed and wounded. 4000 prisoners, twenty-eight cannons, and nine standards.*

It is said that when Prince Henry of Prussia had drawn the enemy into the position which he thought most advisable for his attack upon him, he sent a courier to his brother to demand an immediate reinforcement; to this the answer received was, that Frederic was advancing to his assistance in person. Whether Prince Henry was desirous of having the sole credit of the victory he expected to gain, or felt that if he delayed his attack the enemies might possibly escape him, it is difficult to decide: probably both feelings united may have operated upon him. But however this may be, certain it is that he immediately gave battle, and that Frederic, in consequence,

* Müller. Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand

only arrived at Freyberg the day after the battle was gained. Thus, to Prince Henry of Prussia was exclusively due the honour of concluding the victories of the seven years' war with an action of great glory, both to himself and to the Prussian arms.*

Prince Albert of Saxony, who had been sent forward by Daun with reinforcements to the army of the empire, also arrived too late. The calumniators of Frederic have said that he viewed with eyes of envy his brother's victory; but his own laurels were so numerous and so glorious that it is difficult to conceive how such a feeling could have entered his breast. And undoubtedly the enthusiastic praise he gives to this victory, and to the man who gained it, in his own history of the war, is totally at variance with such a supposition. He was also accustomed to say, when speaking of the actions of himself and his different generals during the seven years' war, "My brother Henry is the only one of us who never committed a fault."†

The battle of Freyberg took place on the 29th of October; and from this moment the speedy conclusion of the war became certain, while the continued advantages of the Prussian arms assisted in hastening it. Prince Henry after his victory pushed forward, and drove the army of the empire into Bohemia. He then detached General Kleist, with a considerable body of men, in further pursuit of it; who destroyed the great Austrian magazines at Saatz, and made incursions to the very gates of Prague.‡

The campaign of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had been this year very successful. The hereditary Prince of Brunswick commenced it by taking the fortress of Arensberg, by which the communication of the French army with Cassel was cut off. This was followed by a victory obtained over the French

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.
† Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.
‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

troops commanded by Soubise and d'Etrees at Wilhelmstal by Prince Ferdinand, who drove them under the walls of Cassel, after 4000 of their men had been killed and many taken prisoners. The prince behaved with great generosity to the French officers, who had lost all their baggage.*

As the obtaining possession of Cassel was the great object of Ferdinand, he next turned his attention to cutting off the communication of that town with Frankfort. In order to effect this, he attacked the body of troops commanded by the Count de Rochambeau, put them to flight, and obtained possession of the French magazines at Rottenburgh. Towards the end of July, he defeated a detachment commanded by the Prince Xavier of Poland, near Lutternberg. The young Prince Frederic of Brunswick also obtained an advantage over a body of the enemy at Kratzenberge. These repeated discomfitures weakened the French army so much that the Prince of Condé, who had the command of a separate corps in the district of the Lower Rhine, hastened to reinforce them. The hereditary Prince of Brunswick marched against him, and attacked him on the 1st of September in his post at Johannisberg. At first, the French appeared to have the worst of it; but the strong position they occupied, as well as the discouragement in the attacking army caused by a wound received by the hereditary prince, enabled them at length to repulse the Hanoverians. The French armies after this united themselves, and took the castle of Arenenburg, on the river Ohme, after a long and drawn battle with the allies for the possession of the bridge over that river. The campaign and the war concluded with the taking of Cassel by Prince Ferdinand, which was compelled to surrender from the want of provisions. This event took place two days before the preliminaries of peace were

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

signed between England and France. Prince Ferdinand soon afterward took leave of his army, and thus concluded his brilliant military career.

The English cabinet, headed by Lord Bute, had meanwhile totally deserted the interests of the King of Prussia; and had, in conformity with these views, signed on the 3d of November the preliminary articles of a treaty of peace with France* and Spain. This peace, which certainly did not afford such advantages to England as she had a right to expect from her previous successes during the war, gave occasion to Algarotti to say, that "the English made war like lions and peace like lambs." When the ministers of England were abandoning the interests of their own country, it was not to be supposed that they would attend to those of an ally. The King of Prussia complained, and with reason, of his abandonment, and of the stipulations in the treaty, by which the French were allowed to keep possession of the countries of Cleves and Guelders. Under these circumstances he became more than ever anxious to compel the imperial court to conclude the war. Austria was now deserted by Russia, Sweden, and France; and the latter power was most anxious to mediate between the empress-queen and the King of Prussia.

The only allies, therefore, who remained to the empress-queen, for the purposes of war, were the states of the empire, who were already tired of the contest. In order to increase their anxiety for peace, Frederic sent General Kleist to lay waste their territories. The Prussians spread themselves through the whole circle of Franconia, seized upon Bamberg, levied heavy contributions upon Nuremberg, and spread alarm even as far as Ratisbon.† These acts

* It was observed with truth by Voltaire, that "France, by her alliance with Austria, had lost in six years more men and money than all the wars she had ever sustained against that power had cost her."

† Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans, par Frederic II.

of violence were accompanied by still more extensive menaces. For the citizens of Ratisbon having applied to Baron Plotho, the Prussian minister at the imperial diet, to reassure them, he informed them "That as all his master's declarations to the states of the empire had produced no effect, he was now resolved to employ more effectual means to compel them to recall their troops from the Austrian army, and was accordingly marching three different corps into the empire; one of which had already entered Franconia, the second was taking the route of Swabia, and the third would pass through Bavaria; that they would everywhere conduct themselves according to the exigencies of war; but as to the diet of the empire, he had orders to give assurances that it should not be in the least disturbed."*

These proceedings of the King of Prussia had the desired effect: the princes and states of Germany agreed to sign a declaration of neutrality in order to deliver themselves from their invaders. The Austrians, thus left alone, were compelled, however unwillingly, to follow their example. An armistice was concluded at the end of November between them and the Prussians; and the King of Prussia took up his winter-quarters at Leipsic.† The armistice was followed by negotiations for peace, which the empress-queen was at length obliged, though very reluctantly, to look forward to in good earnest.‡ Never was there a treaty of peace, ending so protracted and relentless a war, negotiated and concluded with so little formality. The King of Prussia negotiated through the medium of the Baron Hertzberg, under the title of secretary of legation; and he conferred with two persons, the Sieurs Collenbach and Fritsch, one of whom was appointed by Austria and the other by Saxony. These meetings were

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.—Entick's History of the War.
† Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.
‡ Müller, Tableau des Guerres de Frederic le Grand.

very different from those of the numerous ambassadors and plenipotentiaries who had assembled to arrange the peace of Westphalia and that of Utrecht —but probably the very circumstance of the few persons who had to treat together facilitated and hastened the adjustment of the different points in discussion.*

The peace of Hubertsbourg, so called from having been concluded in the castle of that name, near Dresden, was signed on the 15th of February, 1763. Upon this occasion Frederic wrote thus to his friend the Marquis d'Argens:—"The best thing I have now to tell you of, my dear marquis, is the peace; and it is right that the good citizens and the public should rejoice at it. For me, poor old man that I am, I return to a town where I know nothing but the walls, where I find no longer any of my friends, where great and laborious duties await me, and where I shall soon lay my old bones in an asylum which can neither be troubled by war, by calamities, nor by the wickedness of men."†

By the peace of Hubertsbourg it was agreed that the King of Prussia should retain possession of Silesia, as well as of all other territories which belonged to him before the war. The Austrian court endeavoured to except from this agreement the fortress and county of Glatz; but the firmness of Frederic obliged them at length to relinquish their pretensions to this territory. The other powers were also put in possession of those countries which previously to the war belonged to them; and all sides agreed to give up any claim to reparations or reimbursements for what they had suffered or spent during the contest.

In looking back to the course of the seven years' war, one of the most remarkable circumstances observable in it is the financial state of the King of Prussia; whose means of procuring resources of

* Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II.
† Correspondence de Frederic II., Roi de Prusse

money, as compared with those of the other great powers of Europe, were so extremely limited. While the Austrian finances were in a state of the greatest disorder, and the treasury empty, in spite of all the loans and all the taxes which it was found possible to levy having been had recourse to,—while the distress and the scarcity of money was still greater in France,—Frederic never appeared to want the funds necessary for his various enterprises; and this without having recourse to any loans, or having during the course of the whole war imposed any fresh taxes upon his own subjects.* The contributions drawn from Saxony, and the English subsidies, were undoubtedly of great assistance to him; but these resources, without that admirable management upon money matters which he so eminently possessed, would have fallen far short of his wants and necessities; especially when we consider how much of his territories was devastated, and rendered incapable of contributing in any way to the public treasury; and that it has also been calculated that the seven years' war cost the Prussian monarch one hundred and fourteen million livres, or about four millions five hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling.†

The contemporary and native historian of this war, who was himself an eyewitness of the miseries he describes, gives the following account of the state of his country at this period:—"The sufferings of a great part of Germany during this war had been immense. Whole provinces had been laid waste; and even in those that were not, internal commerce and industry were almost at an end; and this, too, in spite of the vast sums which France, England, Russia, and Sweden had scattered over them, either through their armies or by means of subsidies. These sums, it has been calculated, amounted to 500,000,000

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.
† Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.

crowns of the empire. A great part of Pomerania and Brandenburgh was changed into a desert. There were provinces where hardly any men were to be found, and where the women were therefore obliged to guide the plough. In others women were as much wanting as men. At every step appeared large tracts of uncultivated country; and the most fertile plains of Germany, on the banks of the Oder and the Wesel, presented only the arid and sterile appearance of the deserts of the Ohio and Oronooko. An officer has stated that he had passed through seven villages in the territory of Hesse, and had only met a single person, a curate."*

Such were some of the bitter fruits of a war which, caused by feelings of ambition and vengeance, was begun by the sovereigns who waged it with a recklessness of consequences, and an indifference respecting the lives and property of their subjects, worthy of the most cruel ages of barbarism. The struggle was protracted as long as the means of warfare remained to the belligerents; and when total exhaustion obliged them to conclude it, it was found that no sovereign had gained or lost by it, save the enormous loss in blood and treasure, which had equally fallen on all. The vast alliance which had been formed at the beginning of the war against the sovereign of Prussia remained, however, with the shame of having been unable to vanquish a foe so inferior to them in strength and power; while the success of Frederic, in resisting their vindictive attacks, has gained for him a reputation for wisdom, valour, and constancy, such as, considering all the circumstances of the case, it may fairly be said no other hero, of either ancient or modern times, has ever acquired.

* Archenholz, Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans

BOOK THE FIFTH.

1763--1777.

FROM THE PEACE OF HUBERTSBOURG TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE PARTITION OF POLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Frederic repairs the Ravages of the War in his Territories—His other Improvements—He gains the Affections of the Silesians—He restores the Coinage—The Military rewarded—D'Alembert at Potsdam—The Grand Seignior sends an Ambassador to Berlin—Stanislas Poniatowski made King of Poland—Royal Family of Prussia—Death of the younger Prince Henry—Comparison between Frederic and his Brother Henry—Prince Ferdinand Duchess of Brunswick—Queen of Sweden—Princess Amelia—Frederic William—Helvetius at Berlin—New System of Customs and Excise in Prussia.

The conclusion of the war enabled Frederic to return to his capital, from which he had been absent for more than six years. He arrived at Berlin on the 30th of March, 1763, and was received with great rejoicings, which must have been the more gratifying to him, as he was aware they proceeded really from the hearts of his subjects.* The illuminations and festivals of various kinds continued for several days; and wherever he appeared, he was saluted with the affectionate cry of "Long live our king and father!" These demonstrations of public joy and of reciprocal attachment between the monarch and

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III

his people were no sooner concluded, than Frederic began to endeavour to deserve the endearing title which his subjects had bestowed upon him, by adopting measures of various kinds, having for their object to repair the evils which the late contest had inflicted upon his territories.

With this view he remunerated the towns and districts which had suffered the most by the ravages of the hostile armies, hoping by these means to encourage them to repair their ruined buildings; while his donations, at the same time, afforded help to the impoverished capitalists and merchants, and excited them to farther exertions. In this distribution, Landshut received 200,000 crowns; Striegau, Hall, and Halberstadt, 40,000 crowns apiece; Crossen, 24,000; Minden, 20,000; and various others, smaller sums. At the same time, he continued the great public works which have been already mentioned as in progress before the war broke out; and commenced others upon a still more extensive scale. Of these, the most remarkable was the great canal of Bromberg, uniting the rivers Vistula and Oder: which was, however, executed at a later period of his reign than the one we are now treating of: namely, after his acquisition of the territories through which it passes, by the partition of Poland. For these objects he is said to have laid out annually about £400,000 sterling.*

It is also calculated that, in the first ten years after the peace of Hubertsbourg, Frederic had established 264 new manufactories; in many of which the articles manufactured had never before been attempted to be fabricated within the compass of the Prussian dominions.† He also founded a bank at Berlin, part of the capital for the establishment of which was furnished by himself.‡ Pursuing the

* Annual Register.
† Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II.
‡ De la Monarchie Prussienne, par le Comte de Mirabeau.

same beneficial course of improvement, he introduced from other nations those branches of industry in which they excelled. Thus, the rural economy and farming of England, and the mode pursued in that country of enclosing and improving land, was adopted in his dominions. It was an English farmer who first undertook, at the request of the Prussian monarch, to render the sands of Brandenburgh available for the purposes of agriculture. He planted them with turnips, leaving the crop to rot on the ground; and thus obtained a sufficient quantity of vegetable mould on which to grow various kinds of grass. These experiments were first tried on the domains of the crown, and were afterward extended to the estates of different proprietors.*

His attention was also particularly turned to gaining the affections of his Silesian subjects, in which he was completely successful. From the nobles, to whom he lent and gave sums of money to extricate them from the pecuniary embarrassments in which they were involved, in consequence of the ravaging of their estates during the war, down to the tradesmen in the towns, whose houses he rebuilt, and to the farmers and cultivators of the soil, whose industry he fostered and encouraged, all adored him. Even the Catholic clergy, whom he treated with kindness and consideration, ceased to be Austrian in their hearts, and became as good subjects to the Prussian sceptre as the inhabitants of Brandenburgh.†

Among the first acts of the King of Prussia, after the peace, was the restoration of the coinage, which at an early period of the war, had been debased. This measure of Frederic—namely, the debasement of the coin, which can neither be defended for its honesty nor its utility—is one which, at all times, has been a favourite resource of despotic sovereigns,

* Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II. † *Ibid.*

who see in it an easy way of enriching themselves and do not either perceive or regard its pernicious consequences. As soon as Frederic, in the commencement of the war, had obtained possession of Saxony, he caused a vast deal of money to be coined in the mints of Dresden and Torgau, in which the alloy bore the proportion of two-thirds, and the precious metal of one.* This fraudulent operation was conducted under the direction of a Jew merchant of Berlin, named Ephraim. At first the new money was received readily, and Frederic took advantage of this to call in as much of the good money then in circulation as he was able. By degrees, however, the base coin fell into the discredit it deserved, but was still made use of in payments from the royal treasury, as if it had been of the purest kind. After the peace was made, and a fresh coinage had been issued, the base coin was no longer received at the treasury, or by any of the royal collectors. This occasioned considerable losses to the fortunes of individuals, inflicted a severe wound on public credit, and greatly injured the trade and commerce of the Prussian dominions. The original proceeding was highly reprehensible, and the manner in which it was concluded was still more so.†

Nor did the king, in the mean while, forget the merits and the claims of his victorious army. Those of his soldiers who had lost their health in his service were rewarded with situations of various kinds; which, in some cases, though comfortable remunerations for the soldiers themselves, were by no means suited to their habits or education. Thus Frederic frequently appointed these invalid warriors to be the postmasters in country towns; and as in many instances they could neither read nor write, the in-

* In consequence of these relative proportions, this money was familiarly termed, "Les Tiers de Saxe."

† Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II, par l'Abbé Denina.

convenience to the public was considerable.* When complaints were made to Frederic upon this subject, he always answered, "What can I do? I cannot let my old companions in arms starve!" To others he gave the more appropriate present of gifts of lands, at the same time bestowing upon them some of the artillery horses, to enable them to till them. Nor must the magnificent military hospital, which he founded and endowed at Berlin, be forgotten: nor the beautiful, yet simple inscription which he inscribed upon it, "Læso sed invicto militi."†

At the same time that he was thus enjoying the blessings of peace, Frederic was not unmindful of the possibility of war. He therefore completely recruited his regiments, and made up the complement of his army to 200,000 men; which formidable force he continued ever afterward to maintain on foot.‡ In the month of May the King of Prussia, having put in train the various arrangements which have been related, set out on a tour of personal inspection of part of his dominions. He passed through Pomerania, Lower Saxony, and Westphalia, inquiring into the wishes, relieving the wants, and encouraging the industry of his people. During part of his journey he was accompanied by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, with whom he visited the field of battle of Minden. Early in June he went to Wesel, where he was anxious to examine the state of the fortifications. From thence he proceeded to Crevelt and Cleves, from thence to Hanover and Brunswick, and so returned to Berlin.§

Soon after his return, he received a visit from the celebrated D'Alembert, who was now at the height of his reputation as a geometrician, and, what at

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

† Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.

‡ Mémoire Historique sur la dernière Année de la Vie de Frederic II., par le Comte de Hertzberg.

§ Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

that time was still more popular, as a philosopher. Frederic, who, in spite of the trouble and anxiety which Voltaire had given him while at Potsdam, was really piqued at his leaving him, had always had a wish to show that he could replace his loss without difficulty, by calling about him other men equally celebrated.* Thus, upon the departure of Voltaire, he had recalled to his court Baculard d'Arnaud; and a still more obscure individual, called the Chevalier Masson, had been summoned to it, of whose abilities Frederic had heard a high character. But he soon found that the talents of Voltaire belonged to him alone. Still, however, the wish of replacing him appears to have continued; and it is supposed to have been with this view that the King of Prussia invited D'Alembert to Berlin. No two persons, their mutual want of religious belief alone excepted, could be more different than Voltaire and D'Alembert; but at all events the celebrity of the latter was very great. Frederic also was anxious to find a president for his academy, as that post had continued vacant ever since the death of Maupertuis. When, therefore, D'Alembert arrived, the King of Prussia received him in the most flattering manner, lodged him in his palace, and made him brilliant offers if he would attach himself to his service. Whether D'Alembert, like a true Frenchman, could not make up his mind to live at a distance from Paris, or whether he preferred the preservation of his independence, is not known; but he refused the pensions and honours offered to him by Frederic, and, after a visit to that sovereign of three months, he returned to his own country. He continued, however, till his death to be one of his most regular and frequent correspondents.†

The visit of D'Alembert to Berlin was followed by another of a very different kind. Mustapha the

* Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.
† Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.

Third, Emperor of the Turks, having heard of the fame of the King of Prussia, sent an ambassador to compliment him upon the glorious peace which he had lately concluded. Achmet Effendi, such was the name of the ambassador, arrived at the court of Frederic early in the month of November. He was accompanied by a troop of janizaries, and a very numerous retinue; and he brought with him some fine horses, and various articles of eastern luxury and magnificence, as presents for the king. Frederic received him with much splendour; and at the public audience of ceremony he gave him, when the ambassador made him his complimentary harangue, the dress of the king was so costly, that it is stated in a contemporary account, which, however, is hardly credible, that the diamonds worn on his coat and hat on that occasion were worth 500,000*l.* sterling!*

On the 4th of October, 1763, died Augustus the Third, King of Poland, and Elector of Saxony. It had been the fate of this weak and unhappy prince to live through the miseries inflicted upon him and his country during the seven years' war, and to die just as a prospect of future tranquillity and happiness was dawning upon him.† His son, a deformed prince, succeeded him in his electorate; but dying shortly after his father, the grandson‡ of Augustus succeeded; who, being a minor, was not in a fit state to pretend to the kingdom of Poland. A wide field was thus opened to the intrigues of the sovereigns of Europe, in the election of the new King of Poland; and Frederic was by no means idle upon the occasion. The Poles, at least a powerful party among them, wished to place the crown upon the head of Prince Henry of Prussia; and with this view they sent the General Mokranowski, one of the most

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.—Vie de Frederic II.

† Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II.

‡ Frederic Augustus III., Elector and subsequently King of Saxony died in 1827.

powerful and most respected men of the republic, on a mission to Frederic at Berlin. But the wisdom of that monarch was not to be blinded by the dangerous grandeur of the bait which was thus offered to him. He refused at once and peremptorily the proffered sovereignty, and would not permit Mokranowski even to see Prince Henry.

Russia was the power which had the greatest influence in the diet, and the Empress Catherine was anxious to promote to that throne the Count Stanislas Poniatowski, who, having first been her lover, and subsequently her friend, would be sure, she thought, to be the devoted slave of Russian interests. In order, however, to accomplish this, she required aid; and as France and Austria were in close alliance together, and had their own views respecting the election, the empress naturally turned to Prussia for assistance. The King of Prussia, who was in want of allies, and who remembered the injuries done to him during the war by the enmity of Russia, was as ready as the empress to enter into an alliance; and, in order to facilitate this, he directed his minister at Warsaw to co-operate with those of Catherine; at the same time that a body of his troops hovered round the frontiers of Poland, as if ready to give effect to his negotiations. In the month of March, 1764, the treaty of Petersburg was concluded between the courts of Russia and Prussia; and in August of the same year, Stanislas Poniatowski was elected King of Poland.*

After the election of Stanislas, Frederic wrote him letter of congratulation, which contains the following remarkable passage. The sentiments expressed in it would, however, have carried still greater weight with them, had the election, as the letter would seem to take for granted, been a free and unbiassed one.

* Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne.

"Your majesty must reflect, that as you enjoy a crown by election, and not by descent, the world will be more observant of your majesty's actions than of those of any other potentate in Europe; and this is but reasonable. The latter being the mere effect of consanguinity, no more is looked for (though much more is to be wished) from a sovereign by descent than what we are endowed with in common. But from a man exalted by the voice of his equals from a subject to a king,—from a man voluntarily elected to reign over those by whom he was chosen,—every thing is expected that can possibly deserve and adorn a crown. Gratitude to his people is the first great duty of such a monarch; for to them alone (under Providence) he is indebted that he is one. A king who is so by birth, if he acts in a manner derogatory to his station, is a satire only on himself; but an elected one, who behaves inconsistently with his dignity, reflects dishonour also on his subjects. Your majesty, I am sure, will pardon this warmth. It is the effusion of the sincerest regard The amiable part of the picture is not so much a lesson of what you ought to be as a prophecy of what your majesty will be."*

A contemporary historian concludes the narrative of the intrigues which raised to the throne of Poland the young Poniatowski with the following just observations:—"The elevation of the Count Poniatowski, though so detested by the Poles, was applauded by the rest of Europe. The women living in great towns, although for the most part, they are occupied with their amours, or with the intrigues which have relation to them, determine, at present, all public opinions. They saw, of course, with pleasure a woman who was but just herself placed upon a throne employ her power to give to her lover a kingdom bordering on her own empire. Thus what

* Annual Register.

was romantic in the circumstance caused the violence and injustice of it to be forgotten."*

The state of the royal family of Prussia at this period was such, that Frederic became anxious lest the male heirs of his race should be extinguished. As he observes himself, "the succession rested on only four heads,—the Prince of Prussia, the Prince Henry his brother, the Prince Henry, brother of the king, and the Prince Ferdinand, who had then no male offspring." He therefore hastened to marry his nephew, Prince Frederic William (who, eventually, succeeded him on the throne), even before he had completed the age of twenty-one.

Frederic William was the eldest son of the unfortunate Prince Augustus William, the next brother of Frederic, who died, as has been before related, in 1758. The selection of the Princess Elizabeth Christina Ulrica of Brunswick, as the wife of the young prince, was not a happy one. The offspring of this marriage, which took place in July, 1765, was an only daughter, who eventually became the wife of Frederic Duke of York. The irregularities of the princess, partly, perhaps, caused by those of her husband, occasioned a divorce in 1769. Frederic William remarried, in 1769, with a princess of Hesse-Darmstadt, who became the mother of the present King of Prussia, and of other children.†

The young Frederic William had one brother and one sister. The sister, the Princess Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, married the Prince of Orange in 1767. The brother was the Prince Henry, who died of the small-pox in 1766, at the age of eighteen.‡ The king was particularly attached to this prince, on whose rising talents and good qualities he dwelt with fond affection. His death was a grievous blow to his royal uncle, who, upon this occasion,

* Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne.
† Frederic II., Mémoires de 1763 jusqu'a 1775
‡ L'Art de verifier les Dates.

showed more deep feeling than he was generally supposed to be possessed of. He had determined to consecrate to his memory a eulogy, which was afterward read at a meeting of the academy; and, as was common to him upon such occasions, he sent for the professor Thiebault to copy and correct it. When Thiebault arrived, the king received him with a countenance of deep melancholy, but at the same time with the air of a man who was determined to master his feelings. In this he, to a certain degree, succeeded while he detailed his reason for sending for him; but when he attempted to read the composition to Thiebault, his voice faltered. He had hardly got to the fourth page before his grief became ungovernable. He burst into a flood of tears, and covering his face with his hands, held out the manuscript to Thiebault, without being able to utter a single word. "I took the papers," says that writer, "contemplating with respect and a sort of consolation this great man, who thus proved himself as accessible as the rest of mankind to affections the most touching and the most dear to human nature." After a pause of some minutes Frederic ejaculated with difficulty, "You understand what I wish you to do. Good night."* And thus concluded this interview, so honourable to the heart of Frederic; and from which Thiebault came away with an increased veneration for that monarch, bottomed upon his conviction of the sincerity of the feelings which he had displayed, and of his anxious wish, had it been possible for him to have done so, to have concealed them.†

The rest of the royal family at this time consisted of Prince Henry and Prince Ferdinand, the two brothers of Frederic, who had both been married for

* Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.

† This anecdote, as well as several others, proves the injustice of Voltaire's estimate of Frederic's character, when he said, while leaning against a marble table, "Il ressemble à cette table, dur et poli."

some time, but without any children. Of princesses, sisters of Frederic, but from their sex not included in the succession, there were *then* living, Philippina Charlotte, Duchess of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, Louisa Ulrica, Queen of Sweden, and the Princess Amelia, who has before been mentioned, when treating of the adventures of Baron Trenck.* Of all these, by far the most eminent was Prince Henry, whose name must undoubtedly eve stand high, both as a warrior and a man of abilities. The conqueror of Friedberg, of whom his heroic brother said that he was the only one of the Prussian commanders, during the seven years' war, who had never committed a fault, must be allowed to have been a great general. And if his contemporaries may be trusted with regard to his acquirements and talents in other ways, he must evidently have been a prince who would of himself have rendered his house illustrious had his merits not been thrown in some degree into the shade by the superior abilities of his elder brother.

Thiebault, who had frequent opportunities during the twenty years he passed at Berlin of appreciating properly the character of the two brothers, has thus contrasted them with some ingenuity:—"The countenances of both the king and Prince Henry were much marked, and very characteristic. But the king had a handsome head, which did not, however, prevent the expression of his face from being very harsh when he chose it; while the prince, who was any thing but handsome, soon appeared very pleasing. No one ever, perhaps, had eyes more full of life and talent, or with an expression more penetrating, and at the same time more agreeable, than the first, and yet they easily became terrible and overpowering. The second had eyes which almost squinted, and at first sight appeared very stern; and

* Anderson's Royal Genealogies.—L'Art de verifier les Dates

yet it was impossible to hear him talk for two minutes without forgetting this defect. The elder brother had a turn of mind which was easy and sparkling, full of sallies and epigrams, naturally turned to gayety and raillery; but penetrating, and if the expression may be permitted, prophetic, and possessing that sort of finesse which circumvents others and partakes of the character of deceit.—Prince Henry's understanding was of a serious kind, but without slowness; he was fond of discussion, but without pedantry; severe, but without malice; delicate without falseness; true and just without harshness or solemnity; his finesse was only prudence, and was confined to the discovery of that of others, in order not to be overreached by them. Every man of observation would have been enchanted to approach and listen to the king occasionally, and would have admired him. Every man of honour and feeling would have wished to pass his life with the prince, and would have loved him. The former scattered his intellect in society with profusion; the latter never failed to render it agreeable by the most delicate attentions to others, and the most obliging civilities. Both of them were more than instructed,—they were learned: both had equally the depth, the extent, and the fertility of genius. They have both executed great things in war and politics; but the one performed them as if by inspiration, and the other with reflection and calculation. Hence it has arisen, that the one committed many faults, but achieved many more great deeds; and that the other, having also done much, had no faults to reproach himself with. With regard to their failings, the king might be reproached with having too little, and the prince too much confidence in others. As to discretion, the king sometimes told too much from passion; the prince was never indiscreet, except about what concerned himself personally; because the first was more naturally irri-

table, and the latter was only frank. Both were very proud on particular occasions,—the king when he thought any one was about to be wanting in respect to him; the prince when any one had actually been so. In military matters the king was bold by nature, and the prince from principle; while, on the other hand, the former was indulgent and kind by system, and the latter by nature."*

Prince Henry of Prussia, with a character of so much independence, was not likely always to bow with submission to a brother, whose wishes were frequently very despotic. They had, therefore, occasional coldnesses and quarrels, but these never lasted for any great length of time.† As, however, their mode of life was different, they did not see much of one another. After the death of Frederic, his successor, Frederic William, always treated Prince Henry with respect and confidence; and he finally died, full of years and honours, in 1802, aged seventy-six.‡

Prince Ferdinand of Prussia, the youngest brother of Frederic, was a man greatly inferior in ability to his elder brothers. He, however, distinguished himself by his bravery during the seven years' war; after the conclusion of which, he passed the rest of his long life in tranquillity, taking care of a constitution which, originally weak, had been greatly injured by military fatigues. He died at great old age, in 1813.§ His wife, a Princess of Brandenburgh Schwedt, after many years of sterility, became the mother of several children.‖

* Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.

† In the "Mémoires du Comte Lavallette," recently published, it is stated that Prince Henry of Prussia was accustomed, after his brother's death, to abuse him and to disparage his talents. This, if true, is a decided blot upon both the character and understanding of the prince.

‡ Mirabeau, Histoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin.

§ Biographie Universelle.

‖ Mirabeau, in his "Histoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin," speaks thus of their parentage:—"Le Comte Schmettau, gentilhomme compaisant de la Princesse Ferdinand, est le père indubitable de deux de ses enfans."

The Duchess of Brunswick, the eldest surviving sister of Frederic, was a woman of sense and conduct, fond of scientific studies, and possessed of much instruction. Her sister, the Princess of Bareith, has not left us a very favourable description of her character; in spite of which it would appear, that she was much beloved by her royal brother, and by those who approached her. Her next sister, Ulrica, Queen of Sweden, was also a woman of ability; and who had shown both firmness and feeling in the difficult situations in which she had been placed in Sweden.* The circumstances which are said to have led to her being placed on that throne are somewhat curious.

The object of the Swedish ambassador, who was sent to Berlin to negotiate a marriage with a princess of the house of Prussia, was to obtain the hand of the Princess Amelia for the Prince of Sweden. That princess was strongly imbued with feelings of attachment for the religious tenets in which she had been educated, which were those of the Calvinists. She regarded with horror the change from Calvinist to Lutheran, which would have been necessary had she accepted the hand of the heir to the throne of Sweden. In this dilemma she opened her heart to her sister Ulrica, and demanded her advice to enable her to avoid the marriage. The Princess Ulrica, having first ascertained the fixed determination of her sister never to consent to the condition of changing her religion, counselled her to make herself as disagreeable as she possibly could to the Swedish envoy; to show the greatest haughtiness when in his presence; to treat him herself with contempt; and to endeavour to appear as capricious and as domineering as possible.

This conduct, which the Princess Amelia pursued, had the desired effect. The Swede turned from her

* Mémoires de la Margrave de Bareith.

and began to observe the Princess Ulrica, whose conversation and manners presented the most studied contrast to those of her sister. At length, he demanded the hand of the Princess Ulrica for the Prince of Sweden. His offer was immediately accepted by Frederic, and with equal readiness by the princess herself. This acceptance on the part of Ulrica astonished and irritated Amelia. She thought her sister had deceived her, and that she had given her the advice which she had acted upon in order to secure for herself the station which had been destined for another. Though the Princess Ulrica seems really to have acted with fairness in this transaction, her sister never forgave her; and it was while smarting under the feelings of humiliation and vexation at the treachery which she thought had been practised upon her, that she first regarded Trenck with the eye of favour. Her state of mind rendered her peculiarly susceptible of feelings, to which she turned both for consolation and vengeance.* It was, as has been previously mentioned, at one of the fêtes for the marriage of the Princess Ulrica, that the intimacy between Trenck and the Princess Amelia commenced, which ended so fatally for both. Upon Trenck it brought a long and most cruel imprisonment, and upon his royal mistress evils of a still more dreadful kind.†

The Princess Amelia appears to have been endowed by nature with personal beauty, with abilities, and with the gift and the wish to please. Shortly after her separation from her lover, she became suddenly and prematurely old and decrepid. Her beauty gave place to wrinkles; she was almost blind; her limbs were paralytic; and her utterance became so much embarrassed, that it was with difficulty she could be understood; her head shook violently; and her legs could not support her body. Her mind also

* Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.
† Mémoires de Frederic Baron de Trenck.

became as much altered as her person. Instead of being the life of society, from the graces and amenities of her disposition, she became solitary in her habits, and bitter in her temper; always decrying others, and always rejoicing in the calamities which befell them. With regard to her bodily infirmities, she is supposed, by taking poisonous drugs, and other means, to have inflicted them upon herself, in the perverseness of despair at her own sad fate. It is related, that her eyes being weak, her physician advised her to hold them over the steam of a very powerful liquid, but to take especial care, at the same time, not to approach the liquid to her eyes. Instead of attending to these instructions, she rubbed her eyes violently with it; and the consequence was, that almost total blindness ensued, and that her eyes ever afterward had a most distorted appearance, and as if they were actually starting out of her head. She lived in this wretched state for many years, and died shortly after her brother Frederic; who always showed her a much greater degree of attention and even of fondness than he was accustomed to bestow upon the rest of his family.*

The eventual successor of Frederic, the Prince Frederic William, was a man entirely different in all respects from his heroic uncle. It could only have been in favour of his bravery, which was undoubted, that Frederic, who was in general so acute a judge of character, said of him, "My nephew will recommence me."† Frederic William was idle, dissolute, low in his pleasures and habits, averse to study, indulgent and lavish from mere indolence, narrow-minded and prejudiced, easily governed,—in short, in all ways the very reverse of his predecessor on the throne.‡ It is true, that some of his faults and vices may have arisen from the stern rule under which he lived; for

* Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.
† "Mon neveu me recommencera."
‡ Mirabeau, Histoire secrète de la Cour de Berlin.

Frederic was so jealous of his interfering in any way with politics, and at the same time kept him in so harsh a slavery, that the mere force of ennui may have assisted in driving him into the low debauchery with which his time was principally occupied. His conduct after he became sovereign of Prussia is too well known to require comment or remark upon it.

During this year* the celebrated Helvetius paid a visit to Berlin. This author, who is now comparatively forgotten, was then in the full zenith of his notoriety, in consequence of the publication of his work, entitled "De l'Esprit." This pernicious and affected book had been condemned for its materialism, by the pope, the Sorbonne, and the Archbishop of Paris; and had been burnt by the common executioner, by order of the parliament of the latter city. On the other hand, the philosophers cried it up beyond measure; while the author was obliged himself to shrink from the storm, and to disavow, in more than one publication, the principles he had previously promulgated.† It is but justice to Frederic to say, that though he received the author with open arms, lodged him in his palace, and loaded him with civilities, he was not an admirer of his book. In a letter to D'Alembert, at this time, he says, "We are expecting M. Helvetius here: according to his book, the most delightful day of our acquaintance will be the first; but I hear he is infinitely superior to his work, which, though full of talent, has neither persuaded nor convinced me."‡

The conversations of Frederic and Helvetius were not entirely occupied with literary subjects. The former remembered that the latter had been for thirteen years one of the farmers general of taxes in

* 1765.

† Biographie Universelle.—Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.

‡ Œuvres posthumes de Frederic II., Roi de Prusse.

France. In this capacity he discussed with him the fiscal regulations of his kingdom; and it is from this time, that the commencement of the system for the better perception of taxes throughout the Prussian territories, which continued to be acted upon during the remainder of Frederic's reign, is to be dated.* In pursuance of this plan, and, it is supposed by the advice of Helvetius,† the whole management of the customs and excise, &c., was placed in the hands of Frenchmen, who were imported for this purpose. The king's intention in this was, that the system, which was grounded upon that of France, should be conducted by persons who were already well acquainted with its bearings and details, which was not the case with his own subjects. He was aware of the many errors and abuses which existed in the collection of taxes in France; but he was of opinion that he could correct these, and only take from that country that portion of her administration which was really of a beneficial kind. The importation of such numbers of foreigners, at large salaries, was of course a very unpopular measure among the Prussians; but Frederic disregarded the complaints of his subjects, and persisted in his plan; which appears, in spite of the abuse which has been at various times lavished upon it, to have been, upon the whole, crowned with success. This change in the system of the collection of the Prussian imposts took place in the year 1766.‡

* Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.

† In one of his conversations with the king, Helvetius said to him, when speaking of the many plans of finance which had been proposed to Frederic, and which he had offered to show to Helvetius, "It is not necessary, sire, for me to read these projects, in order to know and appreciate them: all are reducible to one single proposition, which is this: *I request your majesty to authorize me to rob your subjects of a certain sum, in consideration of which you shall have a part of it.*"

‡ Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Sejour à Berlin.—Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.—Vie de Frederic II.—De la Monarchie Prussienne sous Frederic le Grand, par Mirabeau.

CHAPTER II.

The King of Prussia's literary Pursuits—He becomes acquainted with some German Writers—Disturbances at Neufchâtel—Territories of Bareith and Anspach—Meeting of the Emperor and King of Prussia at Neisse—Negotiations—They meet again at Neustadt—The Prince De Ligne's Account of this Event, and of the Conversations of Frederic—Frederic's Troops enter the Territory of Dantzic—State of the Liberty of the Press in Prussia—Scarcity of 1772—Frederic's Conduct to the Jesuits.

Having, in the preceding pages, given an account of the visits to Berlin of D'Alembert and Helvetius, it may not be inappropriate here to allude shortly to the King of Prussia's literary pursuits at this period of his life. His Memoirs of the House of Brandenburgh had been written and published in the year 1746. It was also about the same time that he wrote his poem upon "The Art of War" (L'Art de la Guerre), which is incontestably his best poetical work. The Art of War contains many fine lines, and some striking passages; but it does not possess that degree of excellence throughout which is necessary to ensure permanent popularity to a long poem, upon the characters of generals and the details of military tactics. Those who read it generally do so more from curiosity to see what has been written by so celebrated a sovereign as the author, than from the reputed merits of the work itself.*

During the same part of his life were written all the lesser pieces of poetry, consisting principally of odes and epistles, as well as other smaller works of the King of Prussia, which were published at Berlin in 1760, under the title of "Œuvres melées du Philosophe de Sans Souci."† Surreptitious editions of

* Mémoire Historique de la dernière Année de la Vie de Frederic II., par le Comte Herzberg.

† Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.

some of these poems had already appeared in Holland, at Lyons, and in other places; and it was partly in order to correct the errors which had crept into these, and partly to exclude various passages which might be displeasing to the sovereigns of Europe and their ministers, that Frederic consented to the publication of them in a collected and authentic form.*

As has been before mentioned, no sooner was the peace of Hubertsbourg concluded than Frederic began his History of the Seven Years' War; which was in some degree a continuation of his former historical work, relating to the two wars of Silesia, which he had entitled "Histoire de mon Temps." When this was completed, he commenced the work which is entitled, "Mémoires depuis la Paix de Hubertsbourg, 1763, jusqu'à la fin du Partage de la Pologne, 1775;" and this was followed by his History of the War of Bohemia in 1778, which was written towards the end of his life, and which concluded the series of his historical works, relating to his own career, and to the state of Europe during his reign.

These volumes offer much to interest and to instruct the lovers of the history of modern Europe, and the admirers of the hero who wrote them; but they are, perhaps, none of them equal in merit, either of composition or of amusement, to the earliest histories written by Frederic, namely, his *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburgh*. The style of this latter work is terse and concise; whereas in all the others the infinite details of military movements and civil negotiations, of which at present the result is almost all that is important, are spun out to such length, that the interest of the narrative is overwhelmed by them. A wish also to be fair even to his enemies,—a merit which is indeed most remarkable throughout

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.—Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.

these volumes, has led the King of Prussia into too general a habit of praising those he mentions,—a fault which certainly was not one of his general character.

In the maturer period of his life, which we are now treating of, Frederic composed dissertations and essays on various subjects, as well as eulogies, which were called for by the death of friends and relations. All of these he was accustomed to have read at the meetings of his academy; and Thiebault was generally the person who was selected, first to correct, and afterward to read them.*

Nor was the study of poetry forgotten. The love of writing verses was his earliest passion, and did not leave him until he descended into the tomb. As he expressed himself, when speaking upon the subject, "For me, making verses is my greatest pleasure; it is a real enjoyment, and a perfect and delightful relaxation: other studies, in comparison of this one, are only labours."† He still continued, and this taste also remained the same during his whole life, his exclusive admiration of French literature. It is true that, during the seven years' war, while he was passing the winter of 1760 at Leipsic, he made acquaintance with some of the most eminent literary men of Germany, who resided in that city.‡ Among these was Gootsched, Winckler, and Gellert. A conversation of the king with the latter has been published, in the course of which Gellert recited to Frederic a fable of his own composition, which the monarch praised at the moment; but it does not appear, that he was in consequence led to a more willing or frequent study of German literature.§ We are informed, indeed, upon the authority of the present‖ patriarch, not only of German literature, but

* Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina

† Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.

‡ Vie de Frederic II.

§ Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina 1831.

of that of Europe, that the only German poet, or indeed writer, whose works were liked by Frederic, was *Canitz*.*

It appears, from one of his letters to D'Alembert, that the King of Prussia, for a moment at least, had become tired and disgusted with French literature, and had even had thoughts of turning to that of other countries; but if these ideas ever seriously crossed his mind, he certainly never put them in practice. "For this time, my dear D'Alembert, I cannot but think myself fortunate; and, if you have a regard for me, you will be happy that I have escaped dying. The gout has made fourteen violent attempts against me, and it required great patience and strength to resist so many attacks. At length I am restored to myself, to my people, to my friends, and to my studies. But I must tell you, that the mass of trash† you have sent me has absolutely disgusted me with reading. I am old, and frivolities no longer amuse me. I like what is solid; and if I could become young again, I think I should make a divorce from the French, in order to place myself on the side of the English and the Germans. I have lived, my dear D'Alembert, to see many strange things: I have lived long enough to see the pope's soldiers wear my uniform, the jesuits choose me for their general, and Voltaire write like an old woman. I have but little to tell you. In your quality of philosopher, I know you do not trouble yourself with politics; and my academy is too stupid to furnish you with any thing interesting. I have just declared a new war against lawsuits; and I should be more vain than Perseus if, at the end of my career, I could succeed in destroying this monster with a hundred heads."‡

The years 1767 and 1768 were principally occu

* Mémoires de Goëthe.
† New publications from Paris.
‡ Œuvres posthumes de Frederic II., Roi de Prusse

pied by Frederic in internal improvements, and visits to his different provinces, for the purpose of inspecting personally into their wants and capabilities. In the latter year, the tranquillity of that distant part of his dominions, the canton of Neufchâtel, was disturbed. The inhabitants of this small territory (who had been subjects of the house of Brandenburgh ever since the death* of Mary of Orleans Longueville, widow of Henry of Savoy, Duke of Nemours) had always enjoyed the privilege of having the inconsiderable taxes they paid to their sovereign collected by tax-gatherers who were natives of their own country. When the King of Prussia established the new system of finance through his dominions, the taxes of Neufchâtel were farmed out to the highest bidders; and these highest bidders happened to be foreigners. The inhabitants of the canton resisted this innovation as an encroachment upon their ancient privileges. The cause was referred to the great council of Berne, the tribunal to which was attributed the function of deciding any differences that might arise between the people of Neufchâtel and their sovereign. The council of Berne decided in favour of the King of Prussia; which so incensed the people of Neufchâtel, that they murdered, with circumstances of tumult and great violence, their fellow-countryman Gaudot, who, in his capacity of the king's advocate-general, had pleaded his sovereign's cause before the Bernese council. The king endeavoured to obtain justice on the murderers; but the judges, who were natives of Neufchâtel, acquitted them; and Frederic, who did not think it worth while to send an army across Germany to chastise this handful of rebellious subjects, finally left the decision of all their differences to the republic of Berne.†

In 1769, the Margrave of Bareith died without male

* In 1707.

† Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II. par l'Abbé Denina.

heirs. As this event had been for some time foreseen, and as there was also every probability that the margraviate of Anspach would share the same fate, Frederic had already taken measures for reuniting them both to the crown of Prussia. The last time they had been severed from the other territories belonging to the head of the house of Brandenburgh was at the commencement of the seventeenth century, when the Elector John George had given Bareith to his second son, and Anspach to his third. Frederic and his next brother, Augustus William, had entered, in the year 1752, into a family convention with the two margraves. By this the king and prince guarantied the union of the two margraviates under one sovereign, in case either of them died without male issue. This concession was made by them upon condition that, if the male line of both the margraves should extinguish, their joint territories should forthwith revert to the Prussian sovereign. This event took place early in the present century,* when the territories in question became the property of the King of Prussia. In the changes which have since taken place in the divisions of Europe, Bareith, as well as Anspach, has fallen to the share of the King of Bavaria.

It was during this year that the King of Prussia, being at Neisse in Silesia, received a visit from the Emperor Joseph the Second. The latter sovereign, who had a great admiration for celebrity of all kinds, had been long anxious to meet the great enemy of his house; but had been dissuaded from such a step, upon different occasions, by his mother, the Empress Maria Theresa.† At length he succeeded in gratifying his curiosity; and on the 25th of August the two sovereigns met.‡ Frederic says, that it was the fears of the courts of Berlin and Vienna, at the successes of the Russians over the Turks, that occa

* 1805. † Vie de Frederic II.
‡ Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

sioned this interview; and he also informs us, that upon this occasion, he and the emperor signed an act binding themselves to preserve the neutrality of Germany, in case of a war between England and France. He then gives the following sketch of the emperor:—"The emperor wished to preserve a strict incognito, and had therefore taken the name of Count de Falkenstein; and it was thought that the real way to do him honour was to conform in every thing to his wishes. This young prince affected a frankness which seemed natural to him; his amiable and agreeable character showed itself in a gayety united with much liveliness; but with the desire to learn he had not the patience to instruct himself; which, however, did not prevent a real friendship and esteem from springing up between the two monarchs."*

Frederic was probably not sorry to become personally acquainted with the character of the young emperor;—upon the principle which dictated the answer he is said to have made to some one, who expressed surprise at the number of portraits of the emperor in the apartments at the Sans Souci,—"He is a young man," said the king, "whom one should never lose sight of."†

The king received the emperor on the staircase of the episcopal palace at Neisse. When they met, the emperor said, "At length my wishes are accomplished;" and Frederic replied, "This day is one of the brightest in my whole life." At first, Frederic insisted upon the emperor's going before him; and after some contest on the staircase the emperor yielded, saying, at the same time, with much grace, "Oh, sire, if you begin to manœuvre, I must yield to you, and go wherever you wish me." Afterward, at the emperor's earnest entreaty, all ceremonial of this kind was banished, and nothing but military

* Mémoires depuis 1763 jusqu'à 1775, par Frederic II.

† "C'est un jeune homme, qu'il ne faut pas perdre de vue."

rank was observed; in consequence of which Frederic had the precedence as the oldest general. The emperor dined with Frederic, and passed the morning with him inspecting his troops. After two days thus employed, the emperor returned to his camp at Kolin, and the king went to Breslau.

During the following year, Frederic returned the emperor's visit, who was at the time encamped at Neustadt, in Moravia; where the King of Prussia arrived on the 3d of September. It was upon this occasion that Joseph was accompanied by the Prince de Ligne,* who has left so amusing an account of the royal interviews. The imperial minister, Prince Kaunitz, was also in the emperor's train, and had long conversations with the King of Prussia; with a view of endeavouring to induce him to side with Austria against the increasing power of Russia. Frederic says, "Kaunitz detailed, with great emphasis, the system of policy of his court, which he represented as a political *chef-d'œuvre*, of which he was himself the author."† He does not, however, appear to have persuaded the monarch of this fact, or of the soundness of his peculiar views, at present. The king adds, with regard to the emperor, that he

* Charles Joseph Prince de Ligne, the head of an ancient and illustrious family in the Low Countries, was born at Brussels in 1735. As a military man, he early distinguished himself by his bravery; but it is to his literary and conversational talents that he owes his celebrity. He appears to have been, by the common testimony of all who knew him, one of the most lively and agreeable men of his time; and among his voluminous writings, for nearly forty volumes of them are published, are many written with a lightness and a grace which must ensure to them a long popularity. Such are his Narrative of the Journey of the Empress Catharine through the Southern Parts of her Dominions, comprised in a Series of Letters to the Marquise de Coigny; his Account of his Two Visits to Frederic the Great; and a work, supposed to have proceeded from his pen, entitled "Vie du Prince Eugene, ecrite par lui-même." The prince died in December, 1814, at Vienna, while the congress was assembled there. A few days before his death, he said, in allusion to the fêtes which were taking place, "Le congrès danse; il ne marche pas. Ils aiment les spectacles; eh bien! je leur en réserve un moi, et tout neuf pour eux. . . . c'est l'enterrement d'un feld-marechal!"

† Mémoires de 1763 jusqu'à 1775, par Frederic II

found his character the same, that he had judged it to be, upon the occasion of their former meeting.

It appears that Frederic still persisted, to the great annoyance of the emperor, in pressing upon him the honours of precedency. To show himself, says the Prince de Ligne, a well-disciplined elector he insisted upon holding the emperor's bridle when he got on horseback, and then placing his foot in the stirrup. The emperor, on the other hand, though less ceremonious than the king, showed the latter great deference and respect, and such as was natural for a young prince to exhibit to an old king, and a young soldier to one of the greatest generals. The conversations of the two monarchs comprised all topics, even that of politics. At most of them the Prince de Ligne was present; and his remark is, that the emperor was much more at his ease with the king than the latter was with him. "One saw," he adds, "that Frederic the Second liked Joseph the Second, but that the preponderance of the empire, and the neighbourhood of Bohemia to Silesia, arrested the feelings which the king would otherwise have felt for the emperor."

At one of these conversations the subject under discussion was, the course of life the most to be wished for, if the choice were in our own power. The Prince de Ligne's opinion was asked by the two sovereigns. "I told them, that I should like to be a pretty woman till thirty; then, a very fortunate and able general of an army till sixty; and then, not knowing exactly what to add, a cardinal till eighty. The king, who likes to laugh at the sacred college, began to joke about them; and the emperor joined in this very heartily. This supper was one of the gayest and most agreeable I ever witnessed. The emperor and king were without pretension and without reserve, which was not the case entirely the other days they were together; and the agreeableness of two men, so superior in themselves, and often

so much surprised to find themselves together, was the most delightful thing possible."

The Prince de Ligne had also several interviews tête-à-tête with Frederic. At one of these, the latter passed in review the characters of the Austrian generals; and it is pleasing to find him doing full justice to men who had been so long his formidable opponents. He first bestowed great praise upon Lacy and Laudon, and then mentioned Marshal Daun. "I told him," said the prince, "that I thought he would have been considered a great general, if he had been only opposed to the French; but that, having to make head against *him*, he had not been able to show himself to the best advantage, because he always saw him with the thunder in his hand, like Jupiter, annihilating his army. This remark appeared to give him pleasure. He testified much esteem for Marshal Daun, and then praised General Brentano. I asked him the reason for the praises with which I heard he had mentioned General Beck. 'I thought he was a man of merit.'—'Sire, I do not think so; he never did you much harm.'—'He sometimes took my convoys.'—'And he allowed your generals to escape.'—'I never beat him.'—'He never approached near enough, sire, for that; and I always thought, that your majesty only appeared to have a high opinion of him, in order that confidence might be reposed in him, and that he might have larger bodies of troops intrusted to him, which your majesty could have taken advantage of.'—'Do you know who taught me the little I know in military matters? Your old Marshal Traun; that was a man, indeed.'

"The conversation afterward turned upon the French, their literature, and Louis the Fourteenth. 'That was the patriarch of kings,' said Frederic.—'A King of France is always,' observed the prince, 'the patriarch of men of literature.'—'Ah,' said the king, 'that is a bad lot; they are the worst of all people to govern. It is better to be the patriarch

of the Greeks, like my sister the Empress of Russia. *That* brings and will bring her in a good deal more. *That* is, indeed, a religion which comprehends so many countries, and such various nations. For our poor Lutherans, they are so few in number that it is not worth while to be their patriarch.'—'Nevertheless, sire, if the Calvinists and all the other sects were united to them, it would be rather a good post.' The king seemed to be excited by this idea, and his eyes became animated. This, however, did not last when I said to him, 'If the emperor was the patriarch of the Catholics, that also would be no bad place.'—'Very well,' said he, smiling, 'there is Europe divided between three patriarchs. But I was wrong to have commenced this subject; you see where it leads us to. It seems to me that our dreams are not like those of an honest man, to use the expression of the regent. If Louis the Fourteenth were living, he would be obliged to us.' All these patriarchal ideas, possible or impossible to realize, gave him for a moment a thoughtful air, and almost put him out of humour." The prince then gave the king a very entertaining character of the then Prince of Conti; and adds, "This portrait seemed to amuse the king. It was necessary to captivate him by some interesting or remarkable anecdote, otherwise he escaped from you, and did not give you any opportunity of putting in a word."

Upon another occasion, the sufferings inflicted by the late war were mentioned. "'I beg your pardon,' said Frederic, 'for having so often tormented you. I am also sorry for all that happened on the score of humanity. But what an admirable war it was for apprentice warriors! I alone committed enough faults to teach your younger men to become much better generals than I am.—By-the-way, how I admire your grenadiers! how well they defiled before me yesterday! If the god Mars wished to raise a guard for his person, I would counsel him to take

them at once without any selection. Do you know I was also much pleased with the emperor yesterday at supper? Did you hear what he said to me about the liberty of the press and freedom of conscience? He will be very different from all his good ancestors.'—'I am sure, sire, that he is without prejudices, and that your majesty has been a source of great instruction to him.'—'He showed his disapprobation yesterday with great delicacy of the ridiculous regulations respecting publications at Vienna, and the too great attachment of his mother, though without naming her, to certain points which only cause hypocrites. But, apropos of that, the empress must detest *you!*'—'Not at all, sire: on the contrary, she sometimes scolds me for my errors, but quite maternally. She pities me, and is sure I shall eventually change; and the other day she said to me, "I do not know how you manage, for you are the intimate friend of Father Griffet; the Bishop of Neustadt always speaks well of you, and so does the Archbishop of Mechlin; and even the cardinal likes you!"'"

On one of the days the two sovereigns passed together, Marshal Laudon, who dined with them, was not arrived when they sat down to table. This gave the king occasion to say, "This is contrary to his usual custom; formerly, he often arrived before me. Pray let him sit here near me. I had always rather have him on my side than opposite to me." After dinner he desired the Prince de Ligne to point out to him the principal officers present, and especially those who had served under Marshal Traun. "'For,' said he, 'as I believe I before told you, he was my master; he corrected me for the faults I committed.'—'Your majesty was very ungrateful, then, for you never recompensed him for his lessons. In order to have done so, you should at least have allowed yourself to be beaten by him, and I do not remember that that was ever the case'—'I never

was beaten, because I did not fight. It is thus that sometimes the greatest generals have carried on a war: for instance, the two campaigns of 1674 and 1675 of De Montecuculi and M. de Turenne along the Renchen. There was no great difference between Traun and the first; but how great a one, just heaven! between the second and me!'

"I pointed out to him the Count d'Althan, who had been adjutant-general, and the Count Pellegrini. He asked me twice where they were, and then begged me to excuse him, for he was so short-sighted. 'And yet, sire, during war, it seems to me your sight was not only very good, but very extended.'—'Ah,' replied he, 'that was not me, that was my glass.'—'Oh, sire, what would I give to get such a one! but I fear that it would no more suit my eyes than the sword of Scanderbeg would my arm.' He went on, asking the names of various persons; and I told him those of different young princes, who had just entered the service, and some of whom promised well. 'That may be,' said he; 'but I believe, in the empire, it is necessary to cross the races. For me, I like the offspring of love, such as Marshal Saxe and my Anhalt;* though I am afraid, poor fellow, since the fall he has had on his head, it is not quite in such good order as it was before,—a circumstance I should be much grieved

* The General d'Anhalt was, according to Mirabeau, the son of a cook-maid and of a host of fathers ("il est né d'une cuisinière et d'une foule de pères"). The same authority states that he was first a groom, then a smuggler, and then a spy. Thiebault gives the following account of him:—"He arrived, for a time, at a great degree of power in his quality of adjutant-general to Frederic the Great. I do not know how he got the name he bore, or when and how he entered the army; but he certainly was a man who possessed in a singular degree the qualities and the genius proper to distinguish himself in it. His conception was happy and rapid, and his execution still more so. A fall from his horse, in which he was so severely wounded in the head that trepanning became necessary, and which caused occasionally an alienation of mind, prevented his being any longer employed." He appears to have shown great ingratitude to the memory of his sovereign and benefactor after his death.

for, both for himself and for me, for he is a man full of talent.' I own I am glad to have remembered this, because I have heard foolish and malicious people accuse the King of Prussia of insensibility, and say that he had not appeared at all touched by the accident of the man he seemed to love the best. He would have been indeed but too fortunate if they had only said that of him, and not also charged him with being jealous of the merit of Schwerin and Keith, and delighted when he had got them killed. Thus it is that persons of mediocrity strive to lower great men, in order to diminish the vast space by which they are separated from them."

The two sovereigns reviewed the imperial troops stationed at Neustadt together; and it was after one of these military spectacles that the Prince de Ligne says, "I had almost forgot to mention a little occasion I had to improve the good feelings of the two monarchs towards one another. The king said to me, 'I was very much pleased to-day at the way in which your columns were drawn out, and at their manœuvres.'—'And I, sire,' said I, 'at the *coup-d'œil* of the emperor, which was just and rapid, and he never miscalculated the ground and the distances a single step.' At this moment arrived the emperor, and asked the king what I was saying to him. 'I am sure,' replied the latter, 'he will not venture to repeat it to your majesty. I fear even I shall hardly have the courage. It was, that we were both of the same opinion with regard to the movement which you yourself ordered the hussars who protected the evolutions to make this morning. We were both gratified at seeing with how much judgment your majesty placed them at the exact point where they ought to find themselves.' The king soon spoiled this little madrigal; and the epigram of his entrance into Bohemia, a few years afterward, was a good deal more in his usual style."

"One day," continues the Prince de Ligne, "the

two sovereigns were peculiarly confidential to each other, and talked politics together. 'All the world,' said the king, 'cannot have the same system of politics; it must depend upon the situation, the circumstances, and the power of each separate state; what would be good for me might not suit your majesty. I have sometimes risked a political falsehood.'—'What is that?' said the emperor, laughing. —'It is, for example,' said the king, also laughing, 'to invent a piece of news which I knew would be discovered to be false in four-and-twenty hours: but that did not signify; before its falsity was known, it had already had its effect.'"

The extracts from the narrative of the Prince de Ligne cannot be better concluded than by one which, though relating to a small circumstance, is undoubtedly very characteristic of Frederic:—"The king had dressed himself, as well as all his suite, in white* uniforms, in compliment to us, and in order to spare us the sight of the blue, which we had seen so much during the war. He had therefore the appearance of belonging to our army, and to the suite of the emperor. There was, I believe, in this visit, on both sides, a little personality, some distrust, and perhaps a beginning of bitterness,—which, Philip de Comines says, always happens at the interviews of sovereigns. The king took a great deal of Spanish snuff; and as he tried to clean his coat from the effects of it as well as he was able, he said to me, 'I am not sufficiently clean for you, gentlemen; I am not worthy to wear your colours.' By his manner, when he said this, I could not help believing that he would take the first opportunity that presented itself of dirtying them with gunpowder."† The event proved the justness of the prince's opinions upon this occasion.

* The Austrian colour.

† Mémoires et Melanges historiques et literaires, par le Prince de Ligne.

In the autumn of this year the Prussian troops entered the territories of the free town of Dantzic, seized upon some of the outposts, took possession of the cannons found in them, and made a good many prisoners. They continued for some weeks in this manner encamped near the town. The reasons assigned by Frederic for this invasion were certain griefs sustained by the Prussian recruiters from the Dantzickers, and interruptions of the Prussian commerce at the custom-house. This little marauding expedition cannot fail to remind us of the one against the Bishop of Liege, described by Voltaire, at the commencement of the reign of Frederic. After resisting for some time, and appealing in vain for assistance to other powers, the inhabitants of Dantzic were compelled to submit to the terms which their powerful enemy offered them. These were, to pay a sum of money; to allow the Prussian recruiting officers full permission to exercise their calling on their territories; not to harbour Prussian deserters; and, finally, to comport themselves in such a manner as not to give any cause of complaint to his Prussian majesty.*

About this period, or a little later, Frederic restricted the liberty of the press in his dominions by means of the establishment of censors, or licensers, without whose *imprimatur* no work was to be published. But though the form of restraining the freedom of publishing was adopted by Frederic, in no country was the press really more free than in the Prussian territories. He was in the habit of frequently exempting publishers entirely from the power of the licensers; and whenever cases were referred to him to confirm penalties which had been incurred by unlicensed publications, he almost invariably annulled them, writing with his own hand at the bottom of the statement, "My intention is that

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

the press should be free." So little also was he solicitous to prevent the appearance of libels against himself or his government, that upon one occasion he actually encouraged the publication of a work of this kind. A publisher in a foreign town had sent him a manuscript copy of a libel against himself, hoping to obtain money from the king for its suppression. So far, however, was Frederic from complying with his intentions, that he sent for one of his Berlin publishers and gave the manuscript to him, saying, "I advise you to publish this; you will make a good thing of it."

The real history of the establishment of censors in the Prussian dominions, and of the ordinances inflicting penalties upon the publishers of libels, which occasionally appeared, was the fear which Frederic had lest other governments should seek to quarrel with him for satires upon them published within his jurisdiction. It was always, indeed, after some representations of this kind had been made to his government (and they were not unfrequent towards the end of his reign, especially from the Empress Catherine, who was very sensitive upon these matters), that fresh ordinances upon the subject were published. But the real and only object of Frederic was, by these threats of punishments, to compel the publishers and venders of such books to use some caution and secrecy in the sale of them. In this he was for the most part successful.*

So great, indeed, was the political freedom, not only of the press, but also of conversation at Berlin, that it sometimes caused much astonishment in travellers of other nations, who, before they arrived in the Prussian dominions, were only impressed with the arbitrary nature of the form of government there. "Nothing surprised me more," observes a well-known English traveller, "when I first came to Ber-

* Vie de Frederic II.

lin than the freedom with which the people spoke of the measures of government and of the conduct of the king. I have heard political topics, and others which I should have thought still more ticklish, discussed here with as little ceremony as at a London coffee-house. The same freedom appears in the bookseller's shops, where literary productions of all kinds are sold openly. The pamphlet lately published on the division of Poland, wherein the king is very roughly treated, is to be had without difficulty, as well as other performances which attack some of the most conspicuous characters with all the bitterness of satire. A government supported by an army of 180,000 men may safely disregard the criticisms of a few speculative politicians and the pen of the satirist. While his majesty retains the power of disposing of the lives and properties of his subjects as his wisdom shall direct, he allows them the most perfect freedom to amuse themselves with as many remarks or jokes on his conduct as they please."*

The severe scarcity which visited the north of Germany in the year 1772 showed, in its strongest light, the sagacious foresight of Frederic. His father, Frederic William, had erected in various parts of his dominions vast magazines, which were intended to have been only made use of for the provisioning of the army. Frederic had always considered them also as a means of preventing the horrors of famine from falling on his subjects. With this view he was accustomed when corn was low to buy vast quantities of it; far more than could by possibility be made use of by the soldiery. When the price rose, if the dearness did not amount to scarcity, the king sold his corn to advantage. If scarcity seemed imminent he distributed it in the way to afford the greatest relief to his subjects. Upon the present occasion he had foreseen the probability of famine, and had made

* Dr. Moore's View of Society and Manners in France Switzerland, and Germany.

such extensive preparations to meet it, that he not only prevented its pressing upon his own people, but was enabled besides to sell a vast deal of corn, at a great profit, to the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries.*

The King of Prussia attracted at this time the attention of the other nations of Europe by his conduct with regard to the Jesuits. These reverend fathers had been much decried in public estimation for a long period of time; but they had been always strenuously supported by the court of Rome, to whom they were entirely devoted; and also by the Catholic sovereigns, who found their casuistry and laxity of morals convenient in the royal confessionals.† But a conspiracy against the King of Portugal in 1758, of which the Jesuits are supposed to have been cognizant, gave the first blow to their power. Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal, the prime-minister of that country, never ceased his persecution of them till he had driven them out of the Portuguese dominions. This was succeeded by similar treatment in France, where the Duke de Choiseul, assisted by the parliaments, deprived them of all their schools and establishments, and finally abolished them as an order in that kingdom.

These examples were followed in Spain, in Naples, Parma, and Malta; and finally Clement the Fourteenth, Ganganelli, one of the most sensible and best pontiffs that ever sat in the papal chair, published a bull in the year 1773 abolishing the society of Jesus.‡ Upon this Voltaire remarks, "All the Catholic sovereigns of Europe expelled the Jesuits; and the King of Prussia, though a Protestant prince, preserved them, to the great astonishment of other nations. This was because that monarch only saw in them men who were peculiarly capable of educating youth

* Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina
† Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV.
‡ Lives of Alberoni, Ripperda, and Pombal.

and of teaching polite literature, which was but little cultivated in his dominions, except by himself. He thought them useful, and did not fear them. He regarded with the same feelings the teachers of different sects and religions, establishing the most universal tolerance as the first of all dogmas; more occupied with his army than his colleges, and knowing very well that with his soldiers he could keep in order all the theologians; and caring very little whether it was a Jesuit or a priest of another order who taught Cicero and Virgil to the "rising generation."*

In order to please the court of Rome, with whom Frederic wished to be upon good terms, he permitted the brief of Clement the Fourteenth against the Jesuits to be received in his dominions; but he left them in possession of all their establishments and institutions, and even received many of those of other countries, who had been obliged to fly from the persecution which was raised against them.† He also directed his agent at Rome to inform the pope that, as by the treaty of Breslau he had guarantied the religion of Silesia in the state in which it then was, he must ever consider that the Jesuits were included in this stipulation; and he is said to have added, that as he was a heretic he did not conceive his holiness could grant him a dispensation for breaking his word, or for deviating from the duty of an honest man or of a good sovereign.‡

Of his proceedings upon this subject he gave the following half-serious, half-comic account in one of

* Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV.—Perhaps Frederic, in his support of the Jesuits, had some lurking wish to show his contempt of all religions; to show that he thought *them* and their professors all upon a par, and equally below his notice. Such, at least, is the meaning of a sentence of Voltaire, which has not been quoted. It is to be hoped, however, that he had better views and feelings; that humanity, joined to a desire of promoting education among his Roman Catholic subjects, led him to the measures he adopted with regard to the Jesuits.

† Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.

‡ Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

his conversations with the Prince de Ligne: "Why," said he, "have they (i. e. the powers of Europe) abolished those depositories of the lore of Rome and Athens, those excellent professors of the humanities, and perhaps I might add of humanity; those late reverend fathers? Education will lose by this. But as my brothers, the Catholic kings, and most Christian, and most faithful, and Apostolic kings, have all driven them out, I, who am most heretic, collect as many of them as I can; and perhaps some day they will pay court to me to get some of them. I keep up the race; and I said to some o. those about me the other day, 'A rector like you, my reverend father, I can very well sell for 300 crowns; and you, a reverend father provincial, for 600;' and so of the others in proportion. When one is not rich, one likes to make little speculations."*

CHAPTER III.

Affairs of Poland—Disturbances in that Kingdom fomented by Russia—Confederation of Barr—Barbarities committed by the Russian Troops and the Zaporavians—War between Turkey and Russia—Conduct of Frederic—Successes of the Russians—The Polish Confederates declare Stanislas dethroned—Negotiations for the Partition of Poland—Frederic mediates between Russia and Turkey—Treaty of Partition—Frederic's Improvement in Prussian Poland—Marriages of the Grand-duke Paul—Restlessness of the Emperor Joseph—Frederic ill with the Gout—Count Hoditz.

It becomes now necessary to return to the affairs of Poland, for it was at this period that the catastrophe of that unhappy country was consummated. And in order to do so with advantage and perspicuity, it will be advisable to cast a cursory glance at the

* Mémoires et Melanges historiques et litteraires, par le Prince de Ligne.

state of Poland, and her relations with other powers for the few previous years.

Very shortly after the election of Stanislas Poniatowsky the Empress of Russia had become dissatisfied with the conduct of her former creature, that sovereign. Stanislas was a man of great ambition, which had been nurtured and increased by the prediction of an Italian astrologer at his birth to his mother, that he should become a sovereign; but he had neither the magnanimity nor the force of character to guide himself in the stormy elevation to which he had been raised.* He therefore suffered himself to be led by his uncles, the princes Czartorinsky, whose object was to render the crown hereditary in their family. With the view of attaining this object, they altered the ancient laws and customs of Poland; so that, from having been virtually a republic, it now approached near to being an absolute monarchy. Catherine, upon this, took the part of those among the Poles who resisted these innovations. She sent to Warsaw as her ambassador a man of bad character, named Saldern, who was instructed to foment the troubles which he nominally came to allay.†

Frederic, in the mean while, was much disposed to maintain his union with Catherine, in spite of some slight differences which had occurred between them. Catherine had wished to include England, Denmark, Poland, Sweden, and Saxony in the treaty of Petersburg; that is to say, to form a league of the north of Europe against the south; but to this project Frederic refused to consent.‡ In spite of this subject of difference, the Prussian monarch was most anxious to remain well with his powerful neighbour, and to adopt her views with regard to Poland; and a circumstance occurred at this time which, by ren-

* Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne.
† Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II.
‡ *Ibid.*

dering him personally hostile to Stanislas, bound him still closer to the Russian empress. Stanislas, whose vanity was overweening, had had hopes given him by the imperial court (hopes which it is believed were never intended to be realized), that he should be permitted to marry an archduchess. The King of Prussia discovered these manœuvres, and was so incensed by them that he exclaimed in his first moments of anger, "I will crush his head for him with his own crown." From this moment he became the the bitter enemy of Poniatowsky.*

From this time (1765) till its final partition, Poland became one continued scene of tumult and confusion. Well may Rulhiere call his work a History of the *Anarchy of Poland*; a fitter term could not be devised to express the state of this unhappy country. Civil war, religious persecution and intolerance, the artful and mischievous intrigues of sovereigns who sought the dismemberment of the kingdom, all contributed to inflict misery upon its wretched inhabitants. At first the Russian government, and Repnin its ambassador, who had succeeded Saldern, took part against the King of Poland; subsequently, upon his making submission to the empress, they sided with him against that portion of his subjects who, indignant at Russian domination, had formed themselves into an opposing body to the overweening insolence and tyranny of that power. This league was called "the Confederation of Barr," from its first act having been signed at a little town of that name in the province of Podolia.

The first meeting of the confederation took place in February, 1768, and the chiefs there assembled named as their leader the Prince Radzivil, the most powerful nobleman of Poland. At this time the Russians had many troops in Poland; and the raising the standard of the confederation was the signal for al-

* Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne.

lowing these soldiers to exercise every kind of licentious cruelty upon the inhabitants. Barbarous as had been their conduct to the Poles hitherto, it was mildness itself compared to what now followed. The Empress of Russia was at this time threatened with a war with Turkey, that power having been much incensed by her interference in the affairs of Poland. Her object was, before this war broke out, to terrify the Poles into submission, and to exterminate the confederates. The cruelties, the massacres, executed by the Russian commanders, under the express orders of their ruthless and blood-stained sovereign, the female Tiberius of modern times, make humanity shudder.

Not content with the torrents of blood shed by her own semi-barbarous armies, she also incited the Zaporavians, a tribe of the most atrocious banditti, who dwelt among the cataracts of the Borysthenes, to massacre the Poles in the Ukraine. These wretches, who lived by blood and rapine, were too happy, with the prospect of impunity, to execute the wishes of the empress. The Ukraine was entirely laid waste, and the inhabitants put to death by means of the most inhuman and revolting tortures. The lowest calculation of the number of human beings who lost their lives in this indiscriminate massacre is 50,000, the highest 200,000.*

But these barbarities of the empress neither tranquillized Poland nor prevented the war with Turkey. Towards the end of the year 1768 that power sent the Russian ambassador at Constantinople to the fortress of the Seven Towers, and declared war against the czarina. The emissaries of the Duke de Choiseul, who was now prime minister of France, had greatly assisted in exciting the resistance to the Russians in Poland; while at the same time they inflamed the cabinet of Vienna against Catherine,

* Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne.

and stirred up the porte to take vengeance upon Russia for having, in the pursuit by the Russian army of the Polish confederates whom they had defeated, burnt the town of Balta in the Turkish territory.*

Meanwhile, the wary Frederic remained perfectly quiet. His wish was, as he expressed himself, "to let the czarina humble herself"† by her different wars; certain that at last, under these circumstances, he and the court of Vienna must become the mediators between Catharine and her enemies,—an office which he by no means intended to execute gratuitously. "At the approach of this war (between Russia and Turkey), which it was impossible to prevent, and which could not but influence the fate of so many nations, the conduct of the King of Prussia was worthy of his genius. Thirty years of labours, of successes, of glory, an army of 200,000 men inured to war under his own eyes, and unceasingly disciplined under his orders, and a treasure of reserve of more than a hundred millions of livres,‡ and daily increasing by means of his economy, rendered him the master for the future, to follow only his own wishes in the different agitations of Europe. He was not afraid to announce loudly his pacific intentions, and his design to avoid carefully every thing which might extend the miseries of war. At the same time he resolved to be faithful to all the engagements of his alliance with Russia; to pay annually the three millions (of francs) of subsidy which he had agreed by his treaty to give upon the arrival of the present contingency; and to restrain by the terrors of his arms whoever should seek to increase the embarrassments of that empire."§

The respite afforded to the Poles by the war between Russia and Turkey was not of long duration.

* Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II.

† "De laisser mater la czarine" was his phrase.

‡ 4,000,000 pounds sterling.

§ Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne.—Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II.

The successes of the Russians over the Turks were speedy and important. "The generals of Catherine," observes Frederic, "were ignorant of castrametation and tactics; those of the sultan had still less knowledge; so that, if any one wishes to have a just idea of this contest, he must represent to himself a party of one-eyed people, who, after having beaten thoroughly a party of blind ones, have ob tained a complete ascendant over them."* The Turks, in a short time, lost several battles; the whole province of Moldavia, which was taken from them by Prince Gallitzin, and their fleet, which was burnt in the bay of Tschesmé by the Russian admiral, Elphinston. These events were followed by the overrunning of Wallachia by Marshal Romanzow. These extraordinary successes of the Russians excited the alarm of all the neighbouring powers, and occasioned, as has been before mentioned, the meetings of the emperor with the King of Prussia in 1769 and 1770; as well as a greater cordiality between the courts of Vienna and Potsdam than had ever before existed. Frederic, who, with his usual sagacity, was anxious to put an end to the war, before the strength of the Ottoman Porte was entirely overthrown, contrived, by his negotiations, to persuade that generally unpersuadable power to request the meditation of himself and of the court of Vienna, to arrange matters between the two empires. This occurred in 1770.†

The Empress of Russia now again turned her thoughts to Poland, which had continued agitated by tumults and outrages; for that unhappy people seemed destined, even when they had obtained a short respite from the violences of foreign tyrants, to be the ruin and the destruction of one another.‡ On the 9th of April, 1770, the Polish confederates

* Mémoires depuis 1763 jusqu'à 1775, par Frederic II.
† Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II.
‡ Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne.

who continued the warfare against Russia, declared Stanislas dethroned, and the throne vacant. A deputation of their number even went to Warsaw, and penetrating to the king at one of his audiences, presented to him the act of the confederation.*

The event was now upon the eve of consummation which was destined to give over a high-spirited people to the domination of foreigners, to dismember an ancient kingdom, to bring indelible disgrace upon the sovereigns who, having led her to her ruin, partook of her spoils, and to afford an example of wicked spoliation, which has since served for a precedent in Europe for too many arrangements of a similar kind. And yet nothing that has been done subsequently has ever equalled, in rapacity and flagitiousness, the first partition of Poland. It appears that such a measure was first discussed, in the beginning of 1771, between the empress and Prince Henry of Prussia, who had gone to Petersburg from Sweden, at the invitation of Catherine, in order to assist in the mediation and negotiation between Turkey and Russia.† Rulhiere entirely acquits the King of Prussia of having been the person to plan or to suggest the dismemberment of Poland. He observes upon this subject, "The incontrovertible testimonies which the author of this history has procured leave no doubt that Frederic, solely occupied by his endeavours to avoid a war, without compromising either his glory or his imperial ally, had formed no distinct project in his own mind for an invasion of the territories of Poland."‡

It would appear as if this scheme had first suggested itself to the minds of the sovereigns who were to profit by it, from the force of circumstances. For Catherine had certainly originally intended to rule the whole of Poland, through the means of her

* Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne.
† Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II.
‡ Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne.

creature Poniatowski; and it was only when she found herself disappointed in this expectation that she entertained the notion of division, and of allowing those who could have prevented the partition, had they been so minded, to share in the spoil. It is curious enough, that Frederic, in his own writings, has left us a condemnation of his conduct with regard to Poland, which shows how he himself would have regarded such a transaction had his interest not engaged him in its favour. He concludes one of his early productions with the following remarkable sentence:—"In a word, it is a disgrace and an ignominy to lose one's own territories; and it is a criminal injustice and rapacity to obtain possession of those to which one has no legitimate right."*

Prince Henry of Prussia had received instructions from his brother to endeavour, by all means in his power, during his stay at Petersburg, to propitiate the Empress Catherine upon all points which bore upon the interests of Prussia. The prince played his part with great dexterity. He found Catherine in the midst of a series of fêtes, given in commemoration of the Russian victories over the Turks. He paid his court upon these and other matters so successfully, that when he came to talk to the empress upon political subjects, he found her disposed to consent to the propositions he was charged to make. These were, to request her to permit a new system of alliance between Russia and Prussia, and to communicate to Frederic the conditions of the peace which was now in question, between Russia and Turkey. It is said, that on one of the occasions when the prince and the empress were conferring together, a report was mentioned that the Austrians had taken possession of the Polish fortress of Czenstokow. The empress said, "It seems, that in Poland it is only necessary to stoop down in order to

* Considerations sur l'Etat present du Corps Politique de l'Europe. 1736.

pick up whatever one wishes!" This remark led to a conversation upon the state and prospects of that country; and thus, the ice being broken, the subject was several times discussed; and before the prince left Petersburg to return to Berlin, the project of dismemberment had, in some degree at least, assumed a definite form.*

At this time, as if to assist the foreign spoilers in their projects, the Poles were in arms against one another. The confederates, as they were called, who had formerly deposed Stanislas, had obtained some successes. The assistance which had been given to them by France had, however, been almost entirely withdrawn, when the Duke de Choiseul was driven out of office by Madame du Barry, in the end of 1770. Still they were in arms in considerable numbers, under skilful leaders, and with improved discipline. But their good fortune did not long continue: Suwarof, who now commanded the Russian troops opposed to them, defeated them at the battle of Landscron; and afterward, by means of his boldness, his activity, and the horrible cruelties he committed upon those that fell into his hands, succeeded in effectually weakening them,—a consummation which their own intestine divisions assisted in bringing about.†

Meanwhile, Frederic was employing his influence as a mediator between Russia and Turkey, and also between the former power and the court of Vienna; the imperial government objecting to the exorbitant demands of Russia, which were to be satisfied at the expense of the Ottoman Porte.‡ He thus secured the good-will of Catherine; who, finding that Austria was not likely to allow of her spoliation of Turkey, unless she herself got something in the scramble, and feeling also that the King of Prussia's object must be in a great measure the same, was led still

* Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne. † *Ibid.*
‡ Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II.

more to think of the partition of Poland, as a means of satisfying these two powers. Austria, indeed had already laid claim to some portions of Poland upon the plea of antiquated and obsolete rights; and the interviews of Prince Lobkowitz with Catherine who had been sent to Petersburg to discuss the Turkish peace, sometimes rolled upon these subjects. Thus, by degrees, the originally conflicting interests of the three powers led them all eventually to wish for the partition of Poland; and the dark and tortuous negotiations of diplomacy completed what the avidity of the sovereigns, the dissensions of the Poles, and the ill-success of their Turkish allies had all tended to promote.*

The end of 1771 saw the daring attempt to seize the King of Poland at Warsaw, and to convey him to the head-quarters of the confederates, frustrated. In the commencement of 1772, the body of French troops who acted as auxiliaries to the confederates seized upon the town and citadel of Cracow. Here they defended themselves bravely, but were at length obliged by the Russians to capitulate, and to become prisoners of war. This last blow overwhelmed the confederates, who, disunited and weakened, in fact, from this moment ceased to have the slightest power while the league of their common enemies was every day becoming more united.

The slowness and irresolution of the court of Russia, which did not like giving up any part of Poland to others, delayed for some months the final destiny of that unhappy country; but the King of Prussia, who was anxious for the conclusion of the affair, was so urgent, that he finally arranged a convention between the empress and himself, in February, 1772, by which the boundaries of their respective aggrandizements were defined. This agreement was also somewhat hastened by the news that

* Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne.

arrived o the troops of the empress-queen naving taken possession of that part of Poland called the lordship of Zips, which at once showed Catherine that further delays might be dangerous.* Subsequently, the revolution brought about in Sweden (in August, 1772) by the skilful management of the young king, Gustavus the Third, nephew of the King of Prussia (which, by restoring the almost extinct power of the monarchy, took away the influence which Russia had exercised, through the means of a venal oligarchy), also tended to make the Empress of Russia the more anxious to bring to an amicable conclusion her negotiations with other neighbouring powers.†

The point the most in dispute was the city of Dantzic, which Frederic was anxious to obtain. But the Russians said they could not consent to this, as they had guarantied the independence of this little republic. Frederic at length yielded; aware, as he himself observes, that the possessor of the course of the Vistula and of the port of Dantzic must eventually obtain the town also; and thinking that it was not worth while to delay so important a negotiation for the sake of an advantage which was, in fact, only deferred.‡ By this convention Prussia obtained possession of the province of Pomerellia, a portion of that called Great Poland, the bishopric of Warmia, and the palatinates of Marienbourg and Culm. Russia got for her share a large addition of territory bounding her former frontiers, between the rivers Dwina and Dneister. By the same convention the contracting powers agreed to invite Austria to participate in the alliance and the spoliation; and to assist one another with men and money, in case of

* Mémoires depuis 1763 jusqu'à 1775, par Frederic II.

† Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II.—Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.—Mémoires depuis 1763 jusqu'à 1775, par Frederic II.

‡ Mémoires depuis 1763 jusqu'à 1775, par Frederic II.

that cabinet's resisting the whole arrangement.* No sooner was this convention concluded than Frederic began, through the means of the Austrian envoy, Van Swieten, to negotiate with the court of Vienna; which government, after some delays, agreed to the project, and received as its share the left bank of the Vistula, from Vielicza to its junction with the river Viroz, Red Russia, the palatinate of Belz, and a portion of the province of Volhinia.† Thus Austria obtained an addition of territory amounting to 25,000 square miles; Russia acquired more than 3000; and Prussia only about 900; but then the importance to Frederic of these districts, uniting as they did the kingdom of Prussia with Pomerania and the Marches of Brandenburgh, and thus, as it were, consolidating his dominions, entirely made up for the deficiency of their extent.‡

The treaty of partition between the three powers was signed at Petersburg on the 2d of August, 1772, and was followed by the declarations of the respective courts in defence of their indefensible conduct. In these documents, Austria and Prussia dwelt upon their obsolete claims; and Catherine defended her appropriation by calling it a just indemnity for the care she had for many years taken of Poland! No sooner were these measures taken than the contracting powers fell upon their prey; and their respective troops took possession of the provinces which were allotted to them. On the part of Austria and Prussia, possession was taken with circumstances of considerable violence and severity; while Catherine adopted somewhat milder measures.§ An English traveller observes, when speaking of the division of Poland, that "it is extremely worthy of remark, that of the three partitioning powers

* Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.
† Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne.
‡ Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.
§ Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne.

Prussia was formerly in a state of vassalage to the republic; Russia once saw its capital and throne possessed by the Poles; and Austria, scarcely a century ago, was indebted to a sovereign of this country for the preservation of its metropolis, and almost for its very existence."*

The unresisting and incapable Stanislas was at length roused to a sense of his desolate situation He had always treated the rumours of a partition of his kingdom as chimerical; but the truth now burst upon him in all its bitterness. He addressed to the different courts of Europe a protest against the partition; and then convoked the few members of the Polish senate who could be got together, with a view of suggesting to them the assembling of the diet. This latter event took place in April, 1773, after the senate, whose patriotic debates did not suit the wishes of the invaders of Poland, had been dispersed by the united troops of the three powers on the 3d of February, 1773.†

The diet at first appeared inclined to follow the course which the senate had adopted; but surrounded by foreign troops, and assailed by persuasion, intimidation, and corruption, they were at length obliged to do the bidding of those whom fortune had rendered their masters. Commissioners were appointed by the diet for the purpose of arranging matters with Stackelberg, Benot, and Rewiski, the envoys of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. These ministers told the diet plainly, that any one who opposed their wishes would be considered as the enemy of his country and of the three powers. If opposition to the spoliation of the latter was continued, it was announced to the diet that the troops of the contracting powers would at once take possession of the whole kingdom; but if the provinces which each wished for were without delay secured

* Coxe's Travels.
† Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne

to them, their majesties were willing to guaranty the remainder of the kingdom to the Poles.*

After considerable delays and difficulties, the treaty of cession between the diet and the invading sovereigns was ratified on the 5th of August. By this act, in addition to the dismemberment of the kingdom, the Poles gave up in the name of the republic the reversion, in case of failure of male heirs, of the kingdom of Prussia, and of the fiefs of Lauenbourg, Butow, and Draheim, belonging to the house of Brandenburgh. While, on the other hand, the King of Prussia promised to preserve the free exercise of the Catholic religion in that portion of Poland which fell to his share.†

At the same time the allied sovereigns obliged the diet to take into their consideration various improvements for the government of that part of Poland which was to remain independent. With this view a permanent council was established to conduct public affairs; an income for the nominal King Stanislas was fixed; and the number of troops which the republic was to keep up was regulated. But the diet threw as much delay as they were able into the execution of these determinations; for they had hopes that the ill-success which the Russians had latterly had against the Turks might enable them, eventually, to get rid of the humiliating conditions which had been imposed upon them; these two powers having continued at war in spite of the mediation of Frederic, and of the various negotiations which had taken place. During the year 1773 fortune had rather favoured the Turks; in addition to which circumstance, the Cossacks of the Don, under Pugatchef, had rebelled against their Russian masters.

But the hopes which these events raised in the

* Mémoires depuis 1763 jusqu'à 1775, par Frederic II.—Rulhiere, Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne.

† Mémoires depuis 1763 jusqu'à 1775, par Frederic II.

breasts of the Poles were destined to be soon annihilated. By means of Frederic, another negotiation was set on foot between the Turks and Russians; and a treaty highly advantageous to the latter was concluded on the 10th of July, 1774.* This event was followed by the defeat of the Cossack and Tartar insurgents; and the Poles, now left entirely at the mercy of their spoliators, were obliged at once to submit to all their demands. The partitioning powers passed the years 1775 and 1776 in squabbles regarding their respective limits. According to the account given by the King of Prussia, the Austrian court, with a view of increasing their share of territory, had made use of incorrect maps. They had also pretended to mistake the rivers Sbruza and Podhorsa, and thus extended their limits far beyond what had been assigned to them in the treaty of partition. The King of Prussia, upon being made acquainted with this conduct, conceived himself authorized to follow their example. He therefore included the districts called the Old and New Netze in his portion. The court of Petersburg upon this interfered; and Frederic promised to give up what he had taken, provided the imperial government would do the same.† This led to long and involved negotiations, which delayed the final arrangement of their respective limits till the year 1777; which period may therefore be taken as the conclusion of the first partition of Poland. Each party on this occasion receded from a part of their demands; and thus, by the final agreement of the spoilers was consummated the ruin of Poland.

It may appear at first sight surprising, that the other powers of Europe should have permitted the partition of Poland to take place without making any active resistance to a proceeding which, in addition to its manifest injustice, was so entirely at

* Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II.
† Mémoires depuis 1763 jusqu'à 1775, par Frederic II

variance with the principle in those days so much insisted upon by politicians, of the balance of power. But this seeming apathy of other nations will be easily understood when it is remembered, that the only two who could have been able, from their political station, to head a combination against the partition, were England and France. England was engaged in the disastrous contest with her North American colonies, which ended in their dismemberment from the parent country, and was, besides, under the rule of the feeble government headed by Lord North; while France, ruined in finances, and hastening rapidly to her revolution, governed till the death of Louis the Fifteenth by Madame du Barry and her lover the Duke of Aiguillon, and afterward by that frivolous and incapable old man the Count de Maurepas, was utterly unequal to any exertion. England and France being thus circumstanced, the smaller powers were of course unable to attempt the slightest opposition to the rapacity of the great eagles of the north.*

Although no excuse can be found for the conduct of the King of Prussia in the affair of the dismemberment of Poland, his manner of treating the provinces he had appropriated to himself may, perhaps, be considered as some mitigation of the manner in which they were obtained. No sooner was Frederic in possession of his newly-acquired territories, than he turned his thoughts most zealously to the endeavour of making the inhabitants of them happy, and their country prosperous. Neglect and bad government had nearly achieved the ruin of these naturally fertile provinces. In most parts of the country the barns and cottages had fallen to decay; and in the towns of Culm and Bromberg half the houses wanted roofs, doors, or windows. The plague in 1709 had commenced much of this desolation, and

* Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II.

the laziness of the Poles and the vicious nature of their government had completed it. Education was totally neglected, and the administration of justice almost unknown. There was no regular post for letters; and even the most necessary artisans, such as carpenters, tailors, and blacksmiths, were exceedingly rare, as compared with the wants of the community.

But a few years of the administration of Frederic caused a marvellous amelioration in the country. It was supplied with whatever it before wanted,—schools, courts of justice, and artificers. The ruined farm-houses were rebuilt at the king's expense, as were also the towns. The great canal of Bromberg, uniting the Oder and the Vistula, which has been already mentioned, was dug; the marshes were drained; commerce was fostered and improved; and the trade of Elbing, being properly encouraged, began to flourish, at the expense of that of Dantzic. It must therefore undoubtedly be allowed, that in spite of the injustice which led to it, the change to the Poles, from forming a part of their native kingdom to becoming subjects of that of Prussia, greatly increased the sum of their individual and collective happiness.*

Frederic, who was always on the watch for opportunities to strengthen the alliances that existed between his powerful neighbour Russia and himself, and who was aware that the empress was displeased with him on account of the differences which had taken place respecting the Polish boundaries, took advantage of her wish to make a marriage for her son, the Grand-duke Paul, to negotiate, with a view of obtaining his hand for some princess connected with the royal house of Prussia. By dint of negotiation he succeeded in giving the grand-duke to a princess of D'Armstadt, whose sister was married

* Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II

to the Prince of Prussia. The grand-duchess died the following year in child-bed; and Frederic was again successful in marrying the grand-duke to a princess of Wurtemberg, who was his own great-niece.* Upon this occasion Paul paid a visit to Berlin, for the purpose of meeting his bride there; and Frederic, to do him honour, produced all the gilt carriages and other objects of parade which had belonged to his grandfather Frederic the First, but which had not seen the light for at least half a century.†

The restless ambition and activity of the young Emperor Joseph had struck Frederic during the personal interviews they had had together in 1769 and 1770; and these views of his character were so strongly confirmed by future events, that the old monarch, naturally suspicious, became more than ever on his guard against the intrigues and designs of the court of Vienna. Indeed, the impetuosity of Joseph in his wishes was such, that it was not difficult for so acute an observer as Frederic to discover his objects. A circumstance which occurred in 1775, and is related by the King of Prussia himself, confirmed all his suspicions. In that year Frederic had been suffering from attacks of gout, which succeeded one another with rapidity. Van Swieten, the imperial envoy at Berlin, thought he had discovered that the king's malady was a confirmed dropsy. He sent this intelligence to his court, at the same time assuring them that their redoubtable enemy was drawing towards his end; and that he thought he could state with confidence that he could not outlive the year. No sooner had this intelligence reached the emperor than the Austrian troops were in movement towards the frontiers of Bohemia. The intention of the imperial court was, as soon as they heard of the king's death, to pene-

* Mémoires depuis 1775 jusqu'à 1778, par Frederic II.
† Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.

trate through Saxony into Brandenburgh, and thus to frighten his successor into the surrender of Silesia. "These proceedings," as Frederic remarks, "being done openly, became generally known, and did not tend to cement the union between the two courts, as may be easily imagined. The scene was a peculiarly singular one, because the King of Prussia, having in fact only had common attacks of gout, was well again before the Austrian army was entirely assembled. The emperor then had nothing to do but to send his troops back to their quarters."*

The following year Frederic suffered from a much more violent attack of gout; but the imperial court, grown wiser, did not repeat their former display of impatience. This latter illness of the King of Prussia lasted during the whole of the winter of 1776 and 1777, and kept him a prisoner at Potsdam; but the severity of his sufferings did not render him idle. Thiebault relates, with surprise, the constant and laborious occupations in which he found the king engaged, in spite of his malady. The manner in which, in Frederic, the force and clearness of his mental faculties enabled him to master and disregard bodily pain, was at all times, indeed, a very remarkable feature in his character. Thiebault tells us that he himself passed the winter in question at Paris, and that returning to Berlin in the middle of March he stopped one night at Potsdam, and had an interview with the king. "When I entered," says he, "he began by asking me if I had had a pleasant journey. Then he talked to me of his own sufferings; and then of the History of the Lower Empire, by M. Lebeau, which he told me he had read during the winter. 'I had the gout,' said he; 'but fortunately I had it not in the head; nevertheless, it required courage to read this history to the end.' He then went into a long discussion upon the

* Mémoires depuis 1763 jusqu'à 1778, par Frederic II.

merits and demerits of M. Lebeau's work;" upon which Thiebault remarks, "It was curious to me to observe with what freedom of mind the king had read this work in the midst of the most acute sufferings; to which must be added, that at the same time he had gone through all the cares of governing his kingdom as if he had been in perfect health, and had besides succeeded, by means of a double correspondence which was both difficult and delicate, to make up the differences between Count Hoditz and the chapter of Olmutz."*

The Count Hoditz here mentioned was a nobleman of Moravia, much attached to Frederic, and who had married the dowager Margravine of Bareith, an aunt of that sovereign. The king appears to have returned the affection of Hoditz; and it was to him that he addressed the complimentary poetical epistle beginning with the words,

"O singulier Hoditz! vous qui né pour la cour,
Avez fui, jeune encore, ce dangereux séjour."

The epithet *singulier* appears to have been fully deserved by the count, who, with many good qualities, great magnificence, and an absolute devotion to his royal kinsman, was one of the most eccentric persons possible. In the end of his days he settled at Potsdam, where he occupied the apartments in the palace which, till his death, had lodged Lord Marischal. He died at the age of eighty. His differences with the chapter of Olmutz related to the succession of his estate of Roswald in Moravia, which devolved upon the chapter, supposing the count, as was the case, had no male heirs †

* Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

1777–1786.

THE WAR OF THE BAVARIAN SUCCESSION TO THE DEATH OF FREDERIC.

CHAPTER I.

Death of the Elector of Bavaria—Invasion of Bavaria by the Austrians—Frederic's Remonstrances and Negotiations—His Correspondence with the Emperor—He collects his Forces and enters Bohemia—Movements of the different Armies, and Skirmishes—Prince Henry of Prussia advances towards Prague—Successes of the Prussians—Correspondence between the King of Prussia and the Empress-queen—The Prussians retire successfully into Winter-quarters—Frederic's Eulogy of Voltaire—Conclusion of the Campaign.

In tracing the career of Frederic as a warrior, he has thus far only appeared to us in the light of a conqueror, who fought for the aggrandizement of his territories and the increase of his power. A brighter passage of his life is now, however, about to be related; a passage in which he came forward as the defender of the liberties of the Germanic body and of the rights of its princes against the encroachments and usurpations of the house of Austria. There is no doubt that a wish to curb the grasping power of his ancient enemy, as well as to arrest the restless ambition of the young emperor, influenced him in the course he took. But still there must have entered into his motives much of the better feelings of our nature—compassion for the oppressed, and indignation at the oppressor; for he had personally nothing to gain in the war into which he plunged, and from entering into which his age, his former laurels, and

his powerful position in Europe would have seemed naturally to have exempted him.*

On the 30th of December, 1777, Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, died, childless; and in him extinguished the direct line of the sovereigns of that country. His collateral heir was Charles Theodore, Elector Palatine, who was descended from Louis the Second, Duke of Bavaria and Count Palatine.† Charles Theodore himself had no offspring; and the eventual heirs to the succession of both Bavaria and the palatinate were, therefore, the Dukes of Deux-Ponts, who were a branch of the family of the electors palatine.‡ Charles Theodore was a luxurious and expensive prince, given up to vice and profligacy, and utterly unequal to cope with the difficulties which were now about to beset him. He was poor in consequence of his extravagance, and had greatly impoverished the palatinate by grinding his people with taxes for the purpose of supporting an unwieldy court, and of building vast palaces which are now deserted. They, however, still remain, and astonish the traveller by their vastness, and still more as extraordinary proofs of the overweening vanity and folly of a little sovereign.

The Electress-dowager of Saxony, only sister of Maximilian Joseph, laid claim to the allodial property of the late elector: and her claim was just, according to the constitutions of the Germanic body; but it was overruled by the rapacity of another claimant. This was no other than the Emperor of Germany. That sovereign, upon the authority of obsolete rights which the Vienna casuists interpreted as they pleased, claimed all the fiefs belonging to the house of Bavaria; which, it was urged, had escheated to him, partly as emperor, partly as Arch-

* Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina. Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

† Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.

‡ Campagne du Roi de Prusse, 1778–1779, par le Baron de Holtzendorff.

duke of Austria, and partly as King of Bohemia.* These demands, if successful, would have left the new elector in possession of only about one-third of his territories.†

The court of Vienna, it appears, had been prepared for the death of Maximilian Joseph; and an army of 60,000 men was ready to seize upon his electorate. Charles Theodore possessed no power of resistance, and was therefore obliged to bend before the storm; and, in consequence, a very few days‡ after his succession to his second electorate, M. Ritter, his resident at the court of Vienna, signed a convention, by which the elector gave up two-thirds of his electorate to the house of Austria. He was also partly led to this submission by the promises of the emperor to provide for his natural children, and partly by a selfish indifference for his heirs.§ Nor were the imperialists slow in acting upon this forced agreement. A large body of their troops entered Lower Bavaria, and marching towards Munich, seized upon every place they came to; and made the feeble Charles Theodore tremble in his new capital. Another army entered the upper palatinate, on the side of Egra, and took possession of it.‖

But Frederic had not been an unconcerned or ill-informed spectator of the manœuvres of the imperial government; and determined as he was, if possible, on defeating them, his first step was to offer his mediation to the present as well as to the eventual sovereign of Bavaria.¶ This delicate mission he intrusted to the Count de Goertz, nephew of the celebrated minister of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden,

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.—Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II.

† Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand

‡ The convention was signed on the 18th of January, 1778.

§ Gillies's View of the Reign of Frederic II.

‖ Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

¶ Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778

who was at this moment attached to the service of the Duke of Saxe Weimar.* Frederic, who was aware of the haste with which the court of Vienna were conducting their proceedings, directed Goertz to proceed without delay to Munich; to prevent, if possible, Charles Theodore from signing the convention, and, in any case, the Duke of Deux-Ponts, who was also in that capital. The Prussian emissary arrived at Munich too late to arrest the signature of the elector. The Duke of Deux-Ponts had promised also to affix his signature to the act of his own disinheritance, and Goertz only reached Munich the day before the one fixed for his signature.†

He easily persuaded the duke to give up his intention; and dictated a protestation, which the duke signed, objecting to the whole proceeding. At the same time the duke wrote a letter to the King of Prussia, entreating his assistance. The difficulty was, how to convey this letter in safety to Frederic. A monk, however, undertook the task, and brought it safely to General Goertz (brother of the diplomatist, and who was in the service of the King of Prussia at Potsdam), by whom it was delivered to his sovereign.‡ The states of Bavaria were also induced to prefer their complaints to the diet of Ratisbon; and they urged, with great truth, sundry acts, confirmed by different diets and different emperors, in virtue of which Upper and Lower Bavaria were always to continue united. The Dukes of Mecklenburg and Wirtemberg, and the ecclesiastical princes of Augsbourg and Salzbourg, who had small claims upon the Bavarian succession, placed them in the hands of Frederic. The electoral house of Saxony also implored his intervention; and he advised their stating their case, as well as that of the Duke of Deux-Ponts, to the courts of Petersburg

* Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.
† Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.
‡ Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.

and Versailles, in the first instance; in order to discover the views of those powers upon the subject in question. The King of Prussia soon found out that the French ministers, in spite of the marriage of their king, Lewis the Sixteenth, with a sister of the emperor, were not anxious for any aggrandizement of the house of Austria; and that they were in consequence determined upon an outward neutrality, which was really to be rendered as favourable to the anti-Austrian party as possible. Catherine, also, was disposed to check the views of the Austrian cabinet.*

These points ascertained, Frederic proceeded to put forth statements explanatory of the state of the case, in order to place his view of the subject in the most favourable light, and also to prepare the political world of Europe for the part he intended himself to take. In one of these political papers, written by the Count Hertzberg, the rights of the house of Brandenburgh to the territories in dispute were shown to be fully as good as those of Austria. This was not done with a view of enforcing these claims, but in order the better to oppose the prosecution of those of the court of Vienna.†

The next step of the cautious monarch was to ask, in seeming ignorance, for information from the emperor as to his intentions, his claims, &c. A negotiation was thus opened, which led to an autograph correspondence between the emperor and the king, and, subsequently, between the empress-queen and the king, which was conducted with great civility on both sides; but which did not prevent Frederic from continuing his assertion of the liberties of Germany.‡ The imperial and royal correspondence just mentioned is well described by the Prince de

* Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778

† Campagne du Roi de Prusse, 1778, 1779, par le Baron de Holtzendorff.

‡ Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778

Ligne in a letter addressed to King Stanislas of Poland:—"You probably remember, sire, *their* letters upon the subject of Bavaria; their compliments and explanations respecting their intentions,—explanations made with great politeness; and that from politeness to politeness, the king at length entered Bohemia!"*

The emperor commenced the correspondence by a very civil letter to Frederic, in which he requested him to sign the convention, which he, at the same time, sent to him. In this document the Prussian sovereign was made to acknowledge the rights of the house of Austria to the Bavarian territories, and was promised, in return, the recognition by the imperial court of his eventual rights to the margraviates of Anspach and Bareith. The emperor's letter is dated April the 13th, 1778; and the king's answer is written from Schœnwalde, on the following day. It is of considerable length, and, though couched in the civilest terms, overthrows completely, by its arguments and historical references, the chimerical claims of the emperor. The king also tells that prince how much he respects and honours him, and concludes by observing, "I confess that Bavaria, as far as the right of convenience goes, would suit the imperial family very well; but the possession of it by them is contrary to every other right."

The answer of the emperor is dated Littau, April the 16th, 1778; and in it he principally endeavours to show that he has a right to make an arrangement with his neighbour, the Elector of Bavaria, without being interfered with by other powers. He also tries to explain away the claims of the court of Saxony, of the Duke of Mecklenburg, and even of the Duke of Deux-Ponts; and adds the following half-complimentary, half-threatening sentence:—"I have learned already so many really useful things from

* Mémoires et Melanges historiques et litéraires, par le Prince de Ligne

your majesty, that, if I were not a true patriot, and if the thought of the many millions of human beings who might suffer by it did not touch me, I should almost say that I should be glad to learn from you also to be a general. Nevertheless, your majesty may rest convinced, that maintaining peace, and above all with yourself, whom I truly honour and love, is my sincere desire; and that I do not think that 400,000 brave men ought to be employed in cutting one another's throats."

To this letter Frederic replied on the 18th of April. After some compliments to the emperor, he says, "I beseech your imperial majesty not to believe that, seduced by any foolish ambition, I have the madness to wish to raise myself into the arbitrator of sovereigns. Violent passions are deadened at my age, and indeed no longer belong to it; and my reason has taught me to set bounds upon my activity. If I interest myself in the recent events in Bavaria, it is because this affair is bound up with the interests of the princes of the empire, of whom I am one!" He afterward recapitulates the arguments against the rights of the house of Austria, and answers the new points touched upon in the emperor's last letter. In conclusion, he tells him, in reference to his compliment to himself, that, as a general, he needs no master; and adds, "If your imperial majesty gains victories, I shall be the first to applaud them. I only hope they will not be achieved at my expense." The emperor's next letter, of the 19th of April, is still more complimentary than the preceding ones; and he promises in it to lay the reasonings and views of Frederic before the empress Maria Theresa. This is followed by the concluding letter of the series, from Frederic, and dated Schœnwalde, April the 20th, 1778, echoing back the compliments of the emperor, while he encourages him to peace.*

* Œuvres posthumes de Frederic II.

At the same time, while thus preaching peace, both parties were preparing for war. The Austrians concentrated their forces in Bohemia, and intrenched themselves in strong camps. Marshal Laudon arrived in this province about the middle of March, and proceeded to collect his army. Shortly afterward, the greater part of the Austrian troops which had been dispersed in Bavaria, Hungary, and Italy, arrived near the frontiers of the Prussian dominions. It was calculated that more than 250,000 men were collected in Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Poland.*

Warned by these gigantic preparations, Frederic was not behindhand in collecting his forces. In concert with the Elector of Saxony, who furnished a corps of 26,000 men, commanded by the Count of Solms, he arranged his plans.† He formed two armies of 80,000 men each, one of which he intrusted to his brother Henry, and took the command of the other himself. That of Prince Henry was to unite itself with the Saxons, and defend that electorate, in case the emperor invaded it; while the king's army was to *rendezvous* in Silesia, in order to be within reach of Bohemia. The 4th of April was the day fixed by the King of Prussia for leaving Berlin and going to Breslau.‡ A few days before that period, he called the general officers who were to serve in his army around him, and addressed them thus:—

"We have all grown old in the career of arms, and have shared together the glories and the fatigues of our former wars. You are doubtless as unwilling as myself to shed blood; but new dangers, with which the empire and my territories are alike menaced, oblige me to take the most efficacious measures to dissipate the threatening storm. I cannot, therefore, avoid calling you once more to defend

* Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.
† Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.
‡ Campagne du Roi de Prusse, 1778, 1779, par le Baron de Holtzendorff

your country. It will give me the most lively satisfaction when I shall have to recompense you for your fresh services. I shall not appear during the campaign with a luxurious camp equipage; you know I have never cared for such a thing. My actual infirmities will, however, prevent my making the campaign as I should have done during the vigour of my age. I shall, in marches, make use of a carriage; but on a day of battle, you may be sure of seeing me on horseback among you, as formerly."*

When he set off to join his army, Frederic is said to have sent the following note to one of his principal ministers:—"You will find money enough in the treasury for the public expenses. I trust in God that I shall not long be absent, as I am only gone on a small excursion, in order to teach a young gentleman in the neighbourhood his military exercise!"† Frederic was also accustomed to call the war he was now engaged in, "The lawsuit, in which he had gone, like a bailiff, to levy an execution."‡

The day before the King of Prussia left Berlin, he held final communications with the Austrian envoy. In answer to some very moderate observations from the king, the envoy declared, "that the emperor would not give up any territory that he had taken possession of; that he would do justice to those that were aggrieved, but that he would never suffer that any state of the empire should erect itself into a judge and guardian of the others, as long as he had the power to defend his own rights, and to attack those who wished to contest them!" To this insolent reply Frederic answered civilly, and set off for Silesia, accompanied by his nephew the hereditary Prince of Brunswick. When arrived there, he caused his army to advance into the county of Glatz, where he superintended the works for the formation of a strong

* Grimoard, Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II.
† Latrobe's Characteristic Anecdotes of Frederic II.
‡ Prince de Ligne.

camp on the heights of Pischkowitz, among which he intended to place his forces; and it was while thus employed that he carried on the correspondence with the emperor, the substance of which has been already related.*

Although the Prussian army was ready for action by the beginning of May, the negotiations were still protracted. Six months, in fact, were passed in fruitless endeavours to come to some satisfactory arrangement; but as the emperor, on the one side, was determined not to give up possession of Bavaria, and as the King of Prussia was as determined, on the other, not to leave it in his hands, the arts of diplomacy proved vain. On the 4th of July the negotiation was at length broken off, and on the 6th the King of Prussia put his army in motion.†

In order to conceal his designs, that prince had arranged his troops in a position which rendered it doubtful whether they would march upon Moravia or Bohemia; but on the 6th they entered the latter province.‡ The king encamped that night on the heights of Kramolin, near Nachod, and waited for the detachment commanded by the Prince of Brunswick, which arrived the next morning. At the same time, Prince Henry was advancing with his army towards Dresden, where he was to join the Saxon troops.§

The imperial armies, greatly exceeding in number those of Prussia, were commanded by Marshals Lacy and Laudon. The forces led by Lacy, with whom was the emperor in person, were those which were destined to oppose the King of Prussia. They were encamped, to the amount of above 100,000 men, in strong mountainous positions by the side of the Elbe, near Königsgratz. The army of Laudon was

* Mémoires et Melanges historiques et littéraires, par le Prince de Ligne.

† Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.—Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.

‡ Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.

§ Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

stationed between the Elbe and the Iser, and threatened Lusatia and Saxony. But Prince Henry of Prussia was not to be intimidated by these demonstrations. He arrived at Dresden without opposition, and from thence pushed forward detachments into Bohemia; while he himself, by a masterly and rapid manœuvre, entered Lusatia, leaving a portion of his troops, amounting to 20,000 men, to cover Dresden.

He then advanced, by different detachments, into Bohemia, and attacking the troops of the enemy, whom he encountered by the way, near Gabel, he dislodged them, and took 1500 prisoners and six cannons. He fortified the neighbourhood of Gabel, and left the Saxons to defend it; and advanced himself, with the great body of the army, to Nimes, where he placed himself in a very strong position. This movement, and the success of it, for which the imperialists were not at all prepared, completely deranged their plan of defence.* Laudon abandoned the posts of Aussig and Dux, which he had occupied, and even Leutmeritz, though a fortified town. General Platen profited by this, took possession of Leutmeritz, and then, advancing towards Budin, pushed forward his advanced guard to Welwarn, which was only three leagues from Prague. The consternation in the latter capital was excessive; the nobles and others who were collected there fled, and the city was left for some days almost deserted.† "Military men," observes an author writing upon this war, "cannot too deeply meditate upon this invasion of Bohemia by Prince Henry, as well as the manner in which he deceived Marshal Laudon. Men of science in the art of war will always prefer this skilful enterprise to the gain of a battle."‡ It was undertaken in consequence of the suggestion of Frederic,

* Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.

† Campagne du Roi de Prusse, 1778, 1779, par le Baron de Holtzendorff.

‡ Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

in order, if possible, to draw away Marshal Lacy from his strong position on the Elbe.

Marshal Laudon, meanwhile, had fallen back to Munchengrætz, and was now principally occupied in placing detachments along the Iser, with a view of preventing any enterprise on the part of Prince Henry against the army of the emperor. That army had also been fully occupied during this time by their Prussian adversaries. On the 7th of July, the day after Frederic entered Bohemia, a skirmish had taken place between the advanced guard of the Prussians and the Austrian light troops; and on the 8th the Prussian army advanced to Welsdorf, near Jaromirz, and encamped within view of the imperial forces.* The object of Frederic was to pass the Elbe, and that of the Austrians to prevent him. The skirmish of the 7th was followed by similar partial encounters on the 11th, 14th, 23d, and 30th of July, which were mostly to the advantage of the Prussians, especially that of the 23d. Upon this occasion the Austrian general Wurmser ventured to advance with 4000 dragoons and hussars against the Prussians, but was repulsed with the loss of 200 men taken prisoners, besides killed and wounded.†

It was at this period of the war, and when the Prussians had already obtained considerable advantages, that the court of Vienna commenced a fresh negotiation with Frederic, which was carried on by means of an autograph correspondence between the empress-queen and the King of Prussia; assisted by the negotiations of the Sieur Thugut, who had been sent from Vienna to the royal camp, and in some degree by the mediation of Prince Gallitzin, the Russian ambassador at Vienna. The letters of Maria Theresa breathe the spirit of peace, and were accompanied with certain reductions in the demands of Austria: but these reductions were not sufficient to

* Campagne du Roi de Prusse, 1778, 1779, par le Baron de Holtzendorff

† Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand

satisfy the Prussian monarch. After a complimentary correspondence on both sides, which lasted from the middle of July till the 10th of August, the negotiations were continued at the convent of Braunau between Thugut and the Prussian ministers Finckenstein and Hertzberg, and finally broken off on the 15th of August.

It would appear that Maria Theresa was really anxious for peace; perhaps she had some qualms of conscience respecting the justice of the occupation of Bavaria. She was also undoubtedly frightened for the safety of the emperor, whose rash valour she thought would expose him to danger; and she also feared that the same quality in him would be sure to prolong and envenom the war, and expose the Austrian empire to fresh chances and reverses. She had at first not ventured to communicate her peaceful negotiations to her son; and when at length she did so, his anger was so great that he wrote her word that if she made peace he would never return to Vienna, but would settle at Aix-la-Chapelle, or some spot at a distance from her residence.* She then sent her second son, Peter Leopold, Grand-duke of Tuscany, to the army, in hopes that he might be able to inspire the emperor with more pacific views. The result, however, of this step was only that the two brothers, who had hitherto been good friends, became estranged one from the other.†

The war continued to be one of skirmishes and partial encounters, affording no decisive result; but in which the Prussians for the most part had the advantage. In Upper Silesia a party of Prussians surprised, in their camp, two regiments of the imperial

* The Prince de Ligne alludes to these differences between the emperor and his mother's government, when, in a letter to the former sovereign, written in the year 1788, he says, in the language of adulation, "Votre majesté impériale a commencé sa carriere de gloire par resister, dans la guerre de 1778, *au cabinet de Vienne* (ce qui etoit le plus difficile), et puis à celui de Berlin, de Versailles, et de Petersbourg."

† Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.

dragoons, and cut the greater part of them to pieces. Imboldened by this success the Prussians extended their expeditions into Moravia, and penetrated to the very gates of Olmutz. At the same time other detachments took possession of the duchies of Jægerndorff and Troppau. But nothing could tempt the Austrians to leave their intrenched camps. Under these circumstances Frederic determined to advance with great caution, only changing his positions when he found that he had consumed all the forage and provisions in the country behind and around him. His view in this was to render it impossible for the Austrians to take up their winter-quarters near the frontiers of his territories.*

With this intention he remained at Welsdorf till the middle of August, when he advanced to the camp of Burkersdorf, near Soor, where thirty-three years before he had obtained a victory over the Austrians. During these movements the imperial army remained inactive; and Frederic, encouraged by this, formed a plan for passing the Elbe before his enemies were aware of his design, and thus effecting a junction with the army of Prince Henry. This manœuvre was, however, disconcerted; partly by the badness of the roads, which rendered the transportation of artillery extremely difficult, and partly by other circumstances, which delayed the movements of the Prussians till their enemies were aware of their intention.† On his side, Prince Henry had continued his successful manœuvres and skirmishes; but was equally unable with his brother to force his enemies to a decisive action.‡

Early in the month of September, the King of Prussia began, with his habitual foresight, to consider how and where he and his brother were to pass the

* Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.—Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

† Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.

‡ Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

winter. They possessed none of the strong fortresses of Bohemia; and besides, the country had been completely laid waste by their foraging parties. He therefore determined upon retreating towards Silesia; and this determination once come to, it was necessary to act upon it without delay, for the autumnal rains had set in earlier than usual, and the roads, at all times bad, were likely soon to become impassable. The king and prince, therefore, having communicated together, commenced their retrograde movements simultaneously.*

On the 14th of September Frederic quitted his position of Langenau, and fell back in the direction of Tratenau. His march, through rivers, defiles, hollow roads, and over steep hills, and performed in the presence of a superior army, was any thing but an easy task. By skilful manœuvres, however, he managed to protect his army and baggage; and though the enemies, upon more than one occasion, attacked detachments of his army, they had little cause to boast of their success. On the 19th of September the Prussian infantry crossed the river Auga on three bridges of boats, and the cavalry by means of a ford; and then, without loss of any kind, encamped on the heights of Trautenbach.† On the 21st the whole army marched in three columns to Schatzlar. Upon this occasion General Wurmser attacked with superior forces the Prussian corps commanded by General Keller; but after four hours' hard fighting, he was compelled to retire with great loss both of killed and prisoners.‡

Thus concluded the remarkable retreat of Frederic, which had occupied many days, and had been achieved without loss, under difficulties of every kind; but which his masterly genius was enabled to overcome. At Schatzlar Frederic determined to

* Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.
† Campagne du Roi de Prusse, 1778, 1779, par le Baron de Holtzendorff
‡ Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand

remain until he had received intelligence of the safe arrival of Prince Henry in Saxony; and until the season was so far advanced as to preclude the Austrian army, which had now placed itself near Gitschin, from attempting any expedition of importance.

Prince Henry broke up his camp at Nimes on the 16th of September. By a feigned movement, as if with the view of plunging further into Bohemia and seizing upon Prague, he deceived Marshal Laudon, who upon this marched towards that capital, and thus left the way open for the prince to retreat into Saxony.* This advantage was a most important one for Prince Henry to obtain, as the natural difficulties he had to surmount were not less than those encountered by his royal brother.† The Prussian army passed the Elbe at Leutmeritz, and having done so, destroyed the bridge in order to retard the progress of their enemies, who had now discovered their real intentions, and were struggling through the bad roads with a view of overtaking them.‡ In the course of his retreat the prince had been obliged to burn a portion of his baggage to prevent its falling into the hands of the Austrians; but with this exception, his march was a completely successful one. On the 20th of September a skirmish took place between the rear-guard of the Prussian army and the advanced guard of the Austrian, in which the former, headed by Colonel Usedom, had the advantage, and obliged the Austrians to retire, though the force of the latter amounted to twenty-one squadrons of cavalry, while Usedom had only five with him.§ After various manœuvres of Prince Henry, and feints of again turning back upon Bohemia, which again deceived Laudon, and enabled the prince still to gain ground upon him, the great body of the Prussian army

* Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.
† Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.
‡ Campagne du Roi de Prusse, 1778, 1779, par le Baron de Holtzendorff
§ Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

entered Saxony on the 28th of September, and encamped at Ottendorf.*

This retreat was perhaps as honourable to Prince Henry as that to Schatzlar had been to his brother; for though, in effect, he encountered fewer difficulties than Frederic, it must be remembered that this was owing to the well-combined manœuvres by which he deceived Laudon, and thus got the start of him. On the 2d of October the prince placed his army in quarters between Dresden, Freyberg, and the frontiers of Bohemia; while the Austrians, who had suffered great fatigues in their pursuit of the Prussians, decamped from Raudnitz, and took up the quarters in which Laudon designed that they should rest themselves.† In this retreat of Prince Henry Generals Möllendorf and Platen had greatly distinguished themselves, as the hereditary Prince of Brunswick and the Prince Royal of Prussia had in that of the king.‡

While Frederic remained at Schatzlar, directing the evolutions of his army and conducting his varied negotiations, he also found time to write his eulogy on Voltaire, which was afterward read at a meeting of the Berlin Academy. Voltaire had died, in the midst of his Parisian triumphs, on the 30th of May, 1778; and Frederic offered with a willing hand this tribute to the celebrity of his former friend. He subsequently, at the request of D'Alembert, had a solemn service performed in the principal Catholic church at Berlin for the repose of the poet's soul,—a ceremony which, on all accounts, had certainly better been omitted.

When the king took up his quarters at Schatzlar he fixed his abode in one of the best of the peasants' houses in the village. Here, however, he found, as is usual in Germany, only stoves. As Frederic was

* Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.
† Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.
‡ Campagne du Roi de Prusse, 1778, 1779, par le Baron de Holtzendorff

partial to the more civilized use of fireplaces, he insisted upon making one. But the peasant resisted, upon the ground of the expense he should incur in taking it down again on the king's departure. Frederic was, in consequence, obliged to buy the house at an exorbitant price,—a regular deed of sale having been drawn up between the peasant and the king by the notary of the place. When Frederic went away he sent for the peasant, and gave him a patent, by which he constituted him "the governor of his house in the kingdom of Bohemia, and enjoined him to take the greatest care of it during his absence, and to have it ready for him on his return."*

In the beginning of October the Russian general Kaminskoy arrived at the King of Prussia's quarters, with a view of arranging a junction between the army of that monarch and the troops of the empress, Catherine having come to the determination of resisting the attempts at aggrandizement of the house of Austria.† As, however, the campaign was now finished, it was agreed by Frederic and the Russian envoy that the troops of the latter nation should not be called upon to act till the following year.‡

As soon as Frederic was made aware of the safe arrival of his brother in Saxony, and of the dispersion of the armies of Lacy and Laudon in winter-quarters, he determined to retire himself into Silesia. Having therefore sent forward portions of his army in the earlier part of the month of October, he finally left Schatzlar himself on the 15th.§ His retreat was not harassed or interrupted, though he had to pass through a difficult and dangerous country. He took the road to Landshut, where he established himself, and cantoned his army in the environs of that town,

* Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.—Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.

† Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

‡ Campagne du Roi de Prusse, 1778, 1779, par le Baron de Holtzendorff

§ *Ibid.*

so as to form a cordon of defence to the frontiers of the province. At the same time the hereditary Prince of Brunswick was stationed at Troppau.* A detachment from the royal army, headed by the king in person, drove the Austrians from Jægerndorff; and the Prussians, thus established in Upper Silesia, fortified their positions so strongly, that though the Austrians during the latter part of October made several attempts to drive them from them, they were always obliged to retreat with loss. The intention of the King of Prussia in thus taking possession of Upper Silesia was to enable himself at the commencement of the ensuing campaign to carry the war into Moravia.†

On the 1st of November the Prussian general Wunsch entered the county of Glatz, and cantoned his troops in it; and the arrangement of the Prussian armies being thus concluded for the winter, the King of Prussia on the 3d set off for Breslau, where he intended to pass the winter During the whole month of November partial skirmishes took place between the different opposing bodies of troops; which were only put a stop to by the setting in of the winter, the severity of which reduced both sides to inaction.‡

Although the campaign which has just been related was "steril of great events,"§ and therefore by no means a decisive one, it must be allowed that the Prussians were, upon the whole, successful in it. In addition to the conquest of the duchies of Jægerndorff and Troppau, which they had achieved, the two Prussian armies had penetrated deep into Bohemia, had lived for some months at the expense of that province, and finally had retired without loss or inconvenience; having generally also been victorious

* Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.
† *Ibid.*
‡ Campagne du Roi de Prusse, 1778, 1779, par le Baron de Holtzendorff
§ Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.

in the different skirmishes which had taken place in the course of the campaign.* Perhaps the age of Frederic and of his brother had rendered them less prone to risk the fortunes of their country upon the uncertain issue of a pitched battle; but if this was so, they had, on the other hand, gained that degree of skill which experience, joined to natural military talents, can alone give, and which rendered their marches and manœuvres during the whole campaign so successful that they had almost the effect of victories, without their hazard.

CHAPTER II.

Negotiations during the Winter—Mediation of Russia and France—Military Operations—General Wallis attacks Neustadt—Suspension of Arms—Congress and Peace of Teschen—Frederic's Remarks on the War—Visit of the Prince de Ligne to the King of Prussia at Potsdam—Their Conversations together.

During the winter the Empress of Russia took an active part in the negotiations between the Austrians and Prussians, which the season of military inactivity had renewed. She sent in the month of December, 1778, a declaration to Vienna, which contained words to the following effect:—"That she besought the empress-queen to give an entire satisfaction to the princes of the empire with regard to their grievances, and, above all, in their just causes of complaint respecting the usurpation of the Bavarian territories That if this was not done, the Empress of Russia would feel herself compelled to fulfil her engagements to his Prussian majesty, by sending him a body of auxiliary troops, to which she was obliged by the tenor of her treaties with him."† A very short time

* Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et le Regne de Frederic le Grand

† Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.

before this menacing message arrived, the court of Vienna had sent to Catherine to request her mediation in their present quarrel. Fortunately, the declaration of the empress had left Petersburg before the arrival of the Austrian despatch, or it would probably have been much softened. This was peculiarly advantageous for the cause of peace, as nothing tended so much to bring the Austrian government to its senses with regard to its own aggressions as the stern tone adopted upon the subject by the czarina. It came, as Frederic observes, like a thunderbolt upon the Austrians. Still, however, the fiery spirit of enterprise of the emperor urged a continuance of the war, and he even prevailed upon his mother to order fresh levies; but as both she and her minister Kaunitz were now eager for peace, the negotiations were continued. Indeed, the extreme want of money in the Austrian treasury rendered a speedy termination of the contest almost inevitable, as the soldiers were without pay, and almost without the necessaries of life.*

At the same time that the imperial court had applied for the mediation of Catherine, they had also despatched an application to the same effect to the court of Versailles; and Frederic, who was not unwilling that France should act her part in healing the differences of Germany, had sent a long and reasoned memoir to the Count de Maurepas, minister of that country; detailing to him the state of the quarrel, and explaining upon what conditions he, Frederic, would be ready to terminate hostilities and conclude the war. This statement was so much approved of by Maurepas that it was taken as the basis of the accommodation which the Baron de Breteuil, the French ambassador at Vienna, was ordered to endeavour to effect.† Breteuil exerted himself with so much activity, that he was enabled to send his

* Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778 † *Ibid.*

plan of general pacification in the end of January, 1779, to Prince Repnin at Breslau, who was acting there as minister from the Empress of Russia. The haughtiness of this ambassador, and the conflicting demands of the various claimants, delayed the negotiation for some time. During this interval, the weather having become less severe, the two armies had recommenced, in some degree, their hostile operations.

On the 9th of January the Austrian general Ellrichshausen made an attack upon the Prussians under General Tauenzien, who were employed in taking up positions with a view of guarding the town of Jægerndorff.* The Austrians were repulsed with loss. In revenge for this attack, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick planned one against those divisions of the Austrian army which were stationed near Troppau, Jægerndorff, and the frontier of the county of Glatz.† On the 12th of January he fell upon them, drove them from their intrenchments, and burned the huts they had constructed for their habitations. On the 17th of January a detachment of Austrians, commanded by General Wurmser, entered the county of Glatz, took the town of Habelschwert by escalade at night, and seized upon 800 men of the garrison.‡ They afterward obtained some other small advantages, the Prussian troops in these parts being inferior to them in numbers; and then prepared to make incursions into Silesia. Frederic, in order to divert them from their purpose, made demonstrations of again invading Bohemia. On the 3d of February he arrived at Schweidnitz, where he augmented the garrison; and on the 6th proceeded with some troops to Reichenbach.

Prince Henry of Prussia had not been incommoded by the enterprises of the enemies during the winter,

* Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.
† Campagne du Roi de Prusse, 1778, 1779, par le Baron de Holtzendorff.
‡ Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

in consequence of the army of Marshal Laudon having been so much weakened by the detachments he had been obliged to send towards Prague, Upper Silesia, and Glatz, that he was compelled to remain on the defensive. This enabled the prince, according to the directions of his brother, to detach General Möllendorf in the beginning of this month with a strong body of troops to make an irruption into Bohemia. When he arrived near the town of Brix he found his course arrested by the troops of General Kinski. Möllendorf at first put to flight both the Austrian infantry and cavalry; but Kinski subsequently was enabled to rally his men, and to retreat in good order to a strong position. The Prussians on the 6th of February obtained possession of Brix, where they found the magazines, military chest, and baggage of their enemies, and took 400 prisoners.* This expedition of Möllendorf frightened the Austrians so much that they drew together in all haste large bodies of troops. But the Prussian general, who had successfully operated the diversion intended, did not wait to be attacked by them, but retired again into Saxony on the 9th. The King of Prussia advanced on the 16th of February to Silberberg, and placed the different divisions of his army in such positions that they might be ready for a simultaneous plunge into Bohemia. These demonstrations obliged the Austrians to withdraw their troops from the greater part of the county of Glatz.†

The last attempt of the Austrians against the Prussians was made at the very end of February; and was certainly, both for the cruelty which marked its execution and the time at which it occurred, hardly a justifiable proceeding.‡ It is probable that it was occasioned by some such motive as the one attributed to it by the King of Prussia, who seems to have been very indignant at it. That sovereign says, that as

* Campagne du Roi de Prusse, 1778 1779, par le Baron de Holtzendorff
† *Ibid* ‡ *Ibid.*

soon as his ultimatum (which in a great degree obviated the difficulties that had hitherto delayed the negotiation), having been sent to Petersburg, had been returned with the approval of that court, it was forwarded by Prince Repnin to the Baron de Breteuil at Vienna, in order to be submitted to the imperial cabinet.* Breteuil sent word without delay that the empress-queen was much satisfied with it; and was desirous that a congress should be forthwith assembled, in order to complete as speedily as possible the general pacification. "Under these circumstances," continues the King of Prussia, "posterity will scarcely believe that while the court of Vienna appeared to be thus really anxious for peace, an Austrian general, Wallis, presented himself suddenly with 8000 or 10,000 men before the town of Neustadt, in which the regiment of Prussia and the battalion of Preuss were in garrison. The enemy, not being able to obtain possession of the town, threw so many shells into it that a great number of the houses were set on fire, and 240 of the inhabitants perished in the flames. But the garrison did not yield."

General Stutterheim, who had been made acquainted with the movements of the enemies, advanced towards Branitz, with a view of attacking them in their rear; while the Prussian troops cantoned at Rosswalde advanced upon one flank, and the detachments from Neisse on the other. Wallis, unable to resist so many foes, retreated to Zuckmantel, followed and pursued by the Prussian forces. This expedition had been prescribed to General Wallis by the emperor himself, who had imagined it. This prince, reckoning upon the ardent and impetuous spirit of the King of Prussia, thought that by putting him out of humour by the ruin of one of his towns, he should render him more unreasonable and difficult with regard to the negotiation which was

* Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.

now going on. He even hoped that the ill-humour he might be in would, perhaps, induce him to break it off altogether. But neither the expedition nor the plan of the Austrians turned out to their advantage."*

A few days after this exploit a suspension of arms was agreed to between the Austrians and Prussians, at the express desire of the empress-queen. On the 6th of March Frederic left Silberberg, where he was encamped, and proceeded to Breslau, in order to confer with Prince Repnin, the Russian minister there. On the 7th the truce between the hostile armies took effect in Bohemia; on the 8th in Upper Silesia and Moravia; and on the 10th in Saxony. The town of Teschen was named, by common consent, as the spot where the congress of negotiators was to be held. Thither were sent the Baron de Riedsal, by the King of Prussia; M. de Terringseefeld, by the elector palatine; M. de Zinzendorf, by Saxony; M. de Hofenfels, by the Duke of Deux-Ponts; and Prince Repnin, by Russia. They were met by the Baron de Breteuil, on the part of France, and the Count Cobenzel, on that of Austria.†

Great delays, however, occurred in the conclusion of the peace, as all the powers who had any thing to gain or to lose by the arrangement were, by turns, unreasonable in their demands; while the warlike spirit of the emperor, who was anxious to decide the contest by arms, seemed to hover perpetually over the negotiators. They had thus passed six weeks in almost fruitless discussions; and the ministers of France, Russia, and Prussia, who were really anxious for peace, began to despair of accomplishing their object; when, on the 20th of April, arrived a courier with the news that peace was concluded between the Turks and Russians. This event put a stop to the machinations of Joseph II., who had trusted to the diversion caused by the Turkish war to prevent

* Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778. † *Ibid.*

the czarina from taking an active part in the affairs of Germany. Cobenzel immediately became more yielding; and the ministers of the lesser powers withdrew their unreasonable pretensions. In a fort night from this time all the articles of the treaty were agreed to; and the peace of Teschen was signed on the 13th of May, 1779, the anniversary of the birthday of Maria Theresa.

By this treaty it was arranged that the emperor should give up to the elector palatine the whole of Bavaria and the upper palatinate, with the exception of the small circle of Burghausen, situated between the rivers Danube, Inn, and Saltz. At the same time, the family arrangements of the house of Bavaria, with regard to the succession of their territories, were ratified and confirmed.* This article ensured them to the Duke of Deux-Ponts, as well as to all other collateral descendants of the family. It was arranged that the Elector of Saxony should receive the sum of 6,000,000 of florins from the elector palatine, in lieu of his claims upon the allodial succession; and the emperor agreed to give up to him the fief of Schœnbourg, which was situated in the midst of his electorate. The Duke of Mecklenburg received some feudal advantage for his territories from the emperor; while, with regard to Prussia, the emperor acknowledged the right of that power to the eventual succession of Anspach and Bareith; the King of Prussia giving up, on his side, his pretensions upon Juliers and Berg to the house of Sulsbach. He also received the renewed guaranty of France (the first had been given in 1741) to his possession of Silesia.†

"Such," says Frederic, "was the end of these troubles in Germany. Every one had expected to see a series of campaigns before their conclusion;

* Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.—Grimoard Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.

† Vie de Frederic II.

but all that happened was a singular mixture of negotiations and military enterprises, which can only be attributed to the two factions which divided the imperial court, of which one at one moment got the upper hand, and then was repressed by the other. The officers were in perpetual uncertainties, and no one knew whether they were at peace or war; and this continued till the very day that the treaty was signed at Teschen. It appears that the Prussian troops had the advantage over their enemies whenever they came to regular fighting; and that the imperialists had the best of it in contriv nces, surprises, and stratagems, which more properly belong to *la petite guerre*."* The King of Prussia writes here more modestly than is consistent with truth respecting his own troops; who, during this war, had almost invariably a superiority over those of Austria. Nor was his own glory less than it had been in his previous wars, though he achieved it without battles. For he was completely successful in the object for which he undertook the contest, namely, the compelling the emperor to give up his Bavarian conquests; while he had, at the same time, the satisfaction of humbling the pride of Austria, and assuring the independence of the princes of the empire.

Frederic, having concluded the peace of Teschen, returned to Potsdam, and to those peaceful occupations which continued, without interruption, till his death. Shortly after the conclusion of the war he received a visit from the Prince de Ligne. He had invited this accomplished courtier, when he had seen him in the train of the emperor in Moravia, to come and see him at Potsdam. The Prince de Ligne, who appears to have been a sincere admirer

* Frederic II., Mémoires de la Guerre de 1778.—This expression is not attempted to be translated, because it is conceived to be untranslateable. Frederic seems to have lost no time in consigning his recollections of this war to paper; for the concluding sentence of his memoirs of it, which is here quoted, is dated thus, "Fait à Potsdam, ce 20 Juin, 1779.—FREDERIC."

of the great qualities of the King of Prussia, hastened, as soon as peace was restored to Germany, to profit by this invitation. Frederic received him with great cordiality, and seemed to take much pleasure in his society.

Every day during his stay the prince dined and passed the evening with the king; "and it was then," says he, "that daily, for five hours, the universality of his conversation completed my enchantment at his powers. The arts, war, medicine, literature, religion, philosophy, morality, history, and legislation passed in review by turns. The great times of Augustus and Lewis the Fourteenth; the good society among the Romans, the Greeks, and the French; the chivalry of Francis the First; the frankness and valour of Henry the Fourth; the revival of letters, and their changes since Leo the Tenth; anecdotes of men of talent of former days, and their errors; the eccentricities of Voltaire; the sensitive vanity of Maupertuis; the agreeableness of Algarotti; the wit of Jordan; the hypochondriasm of the Marquis d'Argens, whom the king used to induce to keep his bed for four-and-twenty hours by merely telling him he looked ill; and what not besides?—All that could be said of the most varied and agreeable kind was what came from him, in a gentle tone of voice, rather low, and very agreeable, from his manner of moving his lips, which possessed an inexpressible grace. This, I conceived, was what occasioned his hearers not perceiving that he was, like the heroes of Homer, a great talker, though sublime. The voice, the noise, and the gestures of constant talkers are what often give them this reputation; while with the king, who certainly talked as much as anybody, one was always charmed that he did not talk less."*

Among the sketches of conversations related by the Prince de Ligne are the following anecdotes:—

* Mémoires et Mélanges historiques et littéraires, par le Prince de Ligne.

"'The king mentioned Virgil. I took the opportunity, wishing to answer something, to say, 'He was a great poet, sire, but a bad gardener.'—'To whom do you tell this?' replied the king; 'have I not tried to plant, to sow, to prepare the ground, to dig with the Georgics in my hand? But, sir, said my gardener to me, you are a fool, and your book also; it is not thus that we must work. But, oh heavens, what a climate is this! do you know it refuses me every thing? Look at my poor orange-trees, my olives, my lemon-trees: all these die of cold!'—'Nothing, then, grows with you, sire, except laurels!' The king gave me a charming smile; and then, to turn off the flatness of a compliment by a folly, I added quickly, 'And then, sire, there are too many grenadiers in this country; they devour every thing!' And the king began to laugh, because this sort of folly is the only thing to make people laugh."

"One day at dinner, I looked at the bottom of my plate, to see what china it was made of. 'What do you take it to be?'—'I should have said Dresden, but instead of two swords I see but one, which is well worth the two.'—'It is a sceptre.'—'Sire, I beg pardon, but your sceptre resembles a sword so much that one may easily mistake it for one.' And this, indeed, was true, in every sense of the word."* The prince adds that the king did not seem much pleased with the mistake, or the apology.

"Another day, when I came to him, he said to me, 'I am grieved to announce bad news to you. They write me word that Prince Charles of Lorraine is at the last extremity.' He looked at me, to see what effect his communication had upon me, and when he saw my eyes full of tears, he changed, by the easiest transitions, the conversation; talked to me of war, and then of Marshal Lacy. He asked me after him, and added, 'He is a man of the greatest

* The mark of the Berlin china is a sceptre; that of the Dresden two swords, placed crosswise.

merit. Mercy, formerly among you, and Puysegur, with the French, had some idea of marches and encampments. We see by the castrametation of Hyginus, that the Greeks occupied themselves much upon the subject; but your marshal is superior to the ancients, to the moderns, and to all the most famous men who have considered the subject. And, in effect, all the time that he was your quarter-master-general, if you will permit me to make the remark, I never obtained the least advantage. Only remember the two campaigns of 1759 and 1760; every thing succeeded to you. Shall I never be delivered from this tiresome man, said I, often. At length, it became necessary to recompense him, and, in order to do so, they made him Feldzeugmeister; they gave him a corps too strong to be used merely for skirmishing, too weak really to resist me. In spite of this, he delivers himself out of my hands, and out of all the difficulties which beset him, in the skilful campaign of 1760. Another general at length replaced him. This is rather good for me, said I to myself; I shall, perhaps, have some opportunity of doing something. I sought it, and found it at Torgau!' The king never made a more admirable panegyric upon any one than this; for by it he tacitly allowed that it was M. de Lacy who had cleared Moravia, Bohemia, Lusatia, and Saxony of the Prussians."

"The next day, the king, as soon as he saw me, came up to me, and said, with an air of great feeling, 'If you must learn the loss of a man who loved you, and who was an honour to humanity, it is better it should be from one who was as much attached to him as myself. The poor Prince Charles is no more. Others may, perhaps, replace his loss in your heart; but few princes can replace him for the beauty of his mind and his many virtues!' While saying this to me he became extremely affected. I said to him, 'Your majesty's regrets are a consolation to me; and you did not wait for his

death to praise him: there are some fine lines about him in the poem on the *Art de la Guerre*.' I was myself much affected: however, I managed to recite them; and I thought *the author* seemed to be pleased with me for remembering them. 'The prince's passage of the Rhine,' said he, 'was a grand thing; but the poor prince always depended upon so many people! I have never depended upon any thing but my head—sometimes I have depended upon it too much—for my success. He was ill-served, and but little obeyed: neither one nor the other has ever happened to me.'"

"The emperor was gone at this time to have an interview with the Empress of Russia. This proceeding did not please the king; and, in order to defeat what he might do, he had sent the prince royal, rather awkwardly, to Petersburg. The *madcap* Pinto* said one day to his neighbour at dinner, 'The emperor is a great traveller; there never has been an emperor who has gone farther than he.'—'Excuse me, sir,' said the king, 'Charles the Fifth went into Africa, for he gained the battle of Oran there.' And then turning to me, without my being able to discover whether what he had said was meant as a sarcasm or only as an historical anecdote, he added, 'The emperor is happier than Charles the Twelfth; he enters Russia like him at Mohilow; but I think he will get to Moscow.' The same Pinto said another day to the king, who was embarrassed to know who he should send on a foreign mission, 'Why, sire, do you not think of M. de Lucchesini, who is a man of ability?'—'It is for that reason,' replied the king, 'that I choose to keep him: I would rather send you than him, or a tiresome man like Mr. Such-a-one;' and he immediately named the latter person mentioned to the mission in question."

* A Piedmontese count in the service of the King of Prussia.

" 'Do you know,' said the king, one day, to me, 'that I have been in your service? I made my first campaigns for the house of Austria. My God! how the time passes!' He had a way of putting his hands together when saying thus, *my God*, which gave him altogether an air of benevolence and extreme gentleness. 'Do you know,' he continued, 'that I saw the sparkle of the last rays of the genius of Prince Eugene?'—'It was, perhaps, sire, from these rays that the genius of your majesty was first lighted.'—'Ah, my God! who could hope to equal Prince Eugene?'—'He who is superior to him,' said I, 'and who is capable of winning a dozen victories.' He put on his modest air. It is, as I have always said, easy to be modest when one can afford to be so. He pretended not to understand me, and then went on. 'When the cabal, which for forty years Prince Eugene had had against him, even in his own army, wished to injure him, they took the time to do it when his mind, which was in good order in the morning, was a little weakened by the fatigues of the day. It was thus that they made him undertake his injudicious march upon Mayence.'—'You tell me nothing, sire, as far as yourself is concerned, that I did not know before,' said I to him. 'I know all that your majesty did, and even what you said. I can relate to you your journeys to Strasbourg and in Holland, and what passed with regard to you in a boat. In talking of this campaign on the Rhine, one of our old generals, whom I often make talk as one reads an old manuscript, told me he was very much surprised to see a young Prussian officer, whom he did not know, say to a general of the late king, who was giving verbally an order not to go and forage, 'And I, sir, order you to go; our cavalry is in want; and, in short, sir, I command it.'—'You see me in too favourable a light,' replied the king; 'ask these gentlemen about me respecting my humours and caprices. They will tell you a very different story of me.' "

After relating some other conversations of a less interesting and characteristic nature, the prince concludes his account of his visit by saying, "Want of memory, as well as of opportunities of seeing more often, and at greater length, the greatest man that ever existed, obliges me now to stop. There is not a single word in what I have related that did not proceed from him; and those who knew him will perceive his manner in every sentence, which is what I wished, in order to give those who never had the happiness of seeing him a just idea of him. His eyes, which his portraits represent very harsh, with the brows knit, from the labour of the cabinet and the fatigues of war, softened in listening to or in relating any trait of elevation or sensibility."*

CHAPTER III.

Frederic's Occupations and Companions at this Period—His Appearance described—His Attachment to Dogs—The Abbé de Prades—Colonel Guichard—Le Catt—Abbé Bastiani—Lucchesini—Herzberg—Zlethen—Möllendorf—Denina—Final Reform of the Laws—Death of Maria Theresa—Ambition of Joseph the Second—His Schemes defeated by Frederic—Germanic League—Last Year of the King of Prussia's Life—Symptoms of Decay—His Illness increases—He sends for Dr Zimmermann.

These anecdotes by the Prince de Ligne, relating as they do to the private life of Frederic, lead naturally to some account of his manner of passing his time at this period of his existence, as well as of those friends and associates who principally formed his society. The King of Prussia continued to perform the duties of his station, in spite of the increasing infirmities of age, with as great an exactness as in the earlier part of his reign. He still rose at four in the

* Mémoires et Mélanges historiques et littéraires par le Prince de Ligne.

morning in summer, and at five in winter, and despatched the business of the state in the same methodical and expeditious manner which has been described in a former part of this work. But after this was done he allowed himself more relaxation and amusement than had been the case before the seven years' war. Thus, his dinner, and the conversation which succeeded it, became greatly lengthened. We have seen that the Prince de Ligne talks of it as lasting five hours. His suppers were omitted, which enabled him to go to bed earlier, and give himself more rest. He also gave more time to his walks and rides, and the inspection of his gardens and his buildings. The parade, where his guards were exercised, he attended now only three times a week, instead of every day.*

The sight of this eminent man occupying himself with exercising small bodies of men with all the ardour of a young officer sometimes astonished strangers. Dr. Moore thus relates his surprise at witnessing such a scene :—"A few days ago I happened to take a very early walk about a mile from the town (Potsdam), and seeing some soldiers under arms in a field, at a small distance from the road, I went towards them. An officer on horseback, whom I took to be the major, for he gave the word of command, was uncommonly active, and often rode among the ranks to reprimand or instruct the common men. When I came nearer, I was much surprised to find that this was the king himself. He had his sword drawn, and continued to exercise the corps for an hour after. He made them wheel, march, form the square, and fire by divisions and in platoons, observing all their motions with infinite attention; and, on account of some blunder, put two officers of the Prince of Prussia's regiment in arrest. In short, he seemed to exert himself with all the spirit of a young officer

* Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

eager to attract the notice of his general by uncommon alertness."* The same author expresses astonishment that Frederic, who had so lately come from the command of vast armies, could condescend to take so much pains with a handful of men. But it was one of the remarkable characteristics of Frederic, that though his mind seemed naturally formed for great enterprises and combinations, it was equally fitted for entering into minute details, and petty and methodical labours.

Literature, as usual, continued to occupy the leisure moments of Frederic; and his evening concerts, though no longer,—since he had lost a good many of his teeth, and therefore played with less facility on the flute,—of daily occurrence, were not unfrequent. In those he generally performed a part himself upon his favourite instrument; though quite at the end of his life he left off playing the flute altogether. His execution is thus described by a musical traveller:—"His majesty's *embouchure* was clear and even, his finger brilliant, and his taste pure and simple. I was much pleased, and even surprised, with the neatness of his execution in the *allegros*, as well as by his expression and feeling in the *adagio:* in short, his performance surpassed, in many particulars, any thing I had ever heard among dilettanti, or even professors. His majesty played three long and difficult concertos successively, and all with equal perfection."† The evening concluded with a conversation in his own room with one of his most familiar attendants, who sometimes also read to him till he went to sleep.‡

The natural wish which exists in most persons to know what was the personal appearance of men remarkable for their abilities may perhaps be allowed

* Dr. Moore, View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany.

† Dr. Burney, Present State of Music in Germany

‡ Towers's Memoirs of Frederic III.

as an excuse for the insertion here of Dr. Moore's description of Frederic the Great, as he appeared to him at that time of his life. "The King of Prussia," says he, "is below the middle size, well made, and remarkably active for his time of life. He has become hardy by exercise and a laborious life, for his constitution originally seems to have been none of the strongest. His look announces spirit and penetration. He has fine blue eyes; and, in my opinion, his countenance, upon the whole, is agreeable. Some who have seen him are of a different opinion; all who judge from his portraits only must be so; for although I have seen many which have a little resemblance to him, and some which have a great deal, yet none of them do him justice. His features acquire a wonderful degree of animation while he converses. He stoops considerably, and inclines his head almost constantly to one side. His tone of voice is the clearest and most agreeable in conversation I ever heard. He speaks a great deal; yet those who hear him regret he does not speak a great deal more. His observations are always lively, very often just; and few men possess the talent of repartee in greater perfection. He hardly ever varies his dress, which consists of a blue coat, lined and faced with red, and a yellow waistcoat and breeches. He always wears boots with hussar tops, which fall in wrinkles about his ankles, and are oftener of a dark brown than a black colour. His hat would be thought extravagantly large in England, though it is of the size commonly used by the Prussian officers of cavalry. He generally wears one of the large side corners over his forehead and eyes, and the front cock on one side. He wears his hair cued behind, and dressed with a single buckle on each side. From their being very carelessly put up, and unequally powdered, we may naturally conclude that the *friseur* has been greatly hurried in the execution of his office. He uses a very large

gold snuff-box, the lid ornamented with diamonds, and takes an immoderate quantity of Spanish snuff, the marks of which very often appear on his waistcoat and breeches. These are also liable to be soiled by the paws of two or three Italian greyhounds which he often caresses."*

Frederic's attachment to his dogs, which had been one of his earliest passions, continued unabated to the end of his life. The breed which he preferred was that of the Italian greyhound, of which he had always five or six in the room with him. Zimmermann describes them as placed on blue satin chairs and couches, near the king's arm-chair, and says that when Frederic, during his last illness, used to sit on his terrace at Sans Souci, in order to enjoy the sun, a chair was always placed by his side, which was occupied by one of his dogs. He fed them himself, took the greatest possible care of them when they were sick, and, when they died, buried them in the gardens at Sans Souci. The traveller may still see their tombs (flat stones with the names of the dogs interred beneath engraved upon them) at each end of the terrace at Sans Souci, in front of the palace. The king was accustomed to pass his leisure moments in playing with them; and the room where he sat was strewed with leather balls, with which they amused themselves.† As they were all much indulged, though there was always one especial favourite, they used to tear the damask covers of the chairs in the king's apartment, and gnaw and otherwise injure the furniture. This he permitted without rebuke, and used only to say, "My dogs destroy my chairs, but how can I help it? And if I was to have them mended to-day, they would be torn again to-morrow; so I suppose I must bear with the in-

* Dr. Moore, View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany.

† Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.—Entretiens de Frederic Roi de Prusse avec le Docteur Zimmermann.—Vie de Frederic II.

convenience. After all, a Marquise de Pompadour would cost me a great deal more, and would neither be as attached nor as faithful!"

The most celebrated of the dogs of Frederic were Biche and Alcmena. Biche made the campaign of 1745 with him; and was with him when, one day, having advanced to reconnoitre the position of the enemy's troops, he was pursued by a party of Austrian hussars. He hid himself under a bridge, with Biche wrapped in the breast of his coat. The dog, though generally of a noisy and barking disposition, seemed aware of its master's danger, and remained quiet and hardly breathing, till the Austrians had passed over the bridge, and were at a distance. At the battle of Soor, Biche was taken with the king's baggage, but was restored to her master. General Rothenbourg, who brought her, upon her return, into the king's room, found the monarch so entirely occupied in writing, that he did not look up when his favourite entered. The dog immediately jumped upon the table, and put her two front paws on the king's neck, who was moved to tears at this proof of her affection. Alcmena was a favourite greyhound belonging to the King of Prussia, to which he was so much attached that at his death for a day or two he abandoned himself to his grief; and it was long before he would allow the corpse of the dog, although it had become putrid, to be taken from his apartment and buried.

It will be necessary here to give some account of the principal companions and friends of Frederic at this period. These were Le Catt, the Abbé Bastiani, Lucchesini, Count Hertzberg, the Count de Goertz, and Count Pinto, a half-mad Piedmontese, and colonel of a regiment of engineers in the Prussian service. To them may be added, as having not yet been mentioned, the names of his former associates, the Abbé de Prades and Colonel Guichard, though the former had been now for many years in disgrace,

and the latter died in 1775. In addition to these persons, the King of Prussia admitted into his society, from time to time, the most distinguished of his generals, such as General Ziethen, General Möllendorf, and General d'Anhalt. Of the latter some account has been already given. Also a few of the academicians and literary men whom he had encouraged to fix their residence at Berlin; among whom may be mentioned Thiebault and the Abbé Denina.

The Abbé de Prades had been admitted to the intimacy of Frederic for some years; but during the seven years' war he was arrested at Magdeburg upon a suspicion of treason. He was confined in prison for a few days, and then allowed to walk about the town. After some months so passed, no specific charge having been brought against him, he was sent to Glogau, of which church he was a canon; and remained there, a sort of prisoner, till the time of his death. It is supposed that Frederic had received intelligence that De Prades was in communication with some of the enemies of Prussia. Thiebault, however, doubts whether he was really guilty, and is inclined to think that he was the victim of a plot, of which the Abbé Bastiani was the mover. It is, however, to be observed, that Thiebault was personally hostile to Bastiani. The Abbé de Prades was a man of learning and ability; but was not particularly remarkable for his conversational talents, and his loss was not, therefore, much felt by the King of Prussia.*

The Colonel Guichard, who for ten years was the constant companion and guest of Frederic, was born at Magdeburg, of French refugee parents. He passed when young into Holland, where, having distinguished himself in his studies, he became one of the professors at the university of Leyden. Shortly

* Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin

before the seven years' war he made a journey into his native country, and upon this occasion was first noticed by Frederic. The King of Prussia had heard him mentioned as a learned man; and finding, in an interview he had with him, that he was worthy of his reputation, he proposed to him to attach himself to his service. Guichard had particularly devoted his time and attention to the history of Julius Cæsar, his campaigns, and his system of tactics. Frederic thought that one who had pondered much in the closet on military science would be likely to make a good officer. He therefore proposed to him to exchange his professor's chair for a colonelcy of light dragoons, which offer was accepted. In one of his early conversations with the king, the latter asked him, what was the name of the most eminent of Cæsar's aids-de-camp, and Guichard told him it was Quintus Icilius. "Well," continued the king, "you shall be my Quintus Icilius: I give you the name, not doubting but that you will know how to merit it." The name so given remained to Guichard, and from this time till that of his death he was universally known by it; and it had, indeed, so entirely superseded his family name, that it was attached to that of his rank in the army, and he was commonly called *Colonel Quintus*.

Guichard remained attached to the King of Prussia till his death in 1775; but their friendship, like that of Frederic and D'Argens, was frequently interrupted by quarrels. Frederic could not resist the temptation to be sarcastic at the expense of Guichard; and sometimes, when he pushed his satire very far, the colonel absented himself for some days from the palace, and would not return till the king, by some kind message or letter, had shown a wish to make atonement for his former offence. To give an idea of these quarrels, it is only necessary to mention one which occurred towards the end of the life of Guichard. One of Frederic's subjects of at-

tack upon Quintus was his plundering propensities during war; for which, indeed, he has been supposed to have been rather remarkable. One day at dinner at Sans Souci, Frederic, in speaking of the pillage of a house belonging to Count Bruhl, in Saxony, by a party of soldiers commanded by Guichard, said to the latter, "It is now an old story; time and the treaty of peace have wiped every thing out; and no search for reimbursements need now be dreaded. Besides, you have no shame upon these matters, for all the world knows what a pillager you have been. Do therefore tell us how much you plundered upon that occasion. Come now, make a little effort, and recollect how much you got by this rogue's trick." Guichard, who had endured a good deal of this kind, could not, however, digest this attack, and therefore answered, "Your majesty ought to know well how much I got, for I never did any thing but by your orders; I rendered account to you of every thing, and you divided the spoil with me!" So saying, he left the table and the palace; and a considerable time elapsed before the friends were reconciled.*

Le Catt, who held the situation of reader to Frederic, and who continued to enjoy a large share of his confidence and intimacy from about the year 1760 till the death of the monarch, was a Swiss. The manner in which the King of Prussia first became acquainted with him is sufficiently curious to be worthy of relation. In a journey which the King of Prussia made into Holland, he and his companion, the Colonel Balby, disguised themselves as two musicians. Travelling in this capacity in a passage boat from one town to another, the king, who was in a private cabin, began to feel a wish for more society. He therefore sent Balby into the public cabin, desiring him to see if there was not some one among the passengers who seemed worthy to

* Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.

be invited to breakfast with them. Balby returned with intelligence that there was a young man whose lively conversation and instruction would render him an agreeable addition to their party. He was immediately invited to join them, and the three sat down to a pie, which had been prepared for the meal. Frederic, actuated by his usual thirst for information, began putting questions of all kinds to the stranger. He asked him respecting his country, his family, his own pursuits and intentions, till at length the young man, seeing no end to his interrogatories, said, rather crossly, "*Permit me, sir, to observe, that you have asked me an unreasonable number of questions in return for a single cut of a pie.*"—"I entreat your pardon," answered Frederic, courteously; "you know that travellers are always anxious to instruct themselves; and I trust you will excuse me if I have indiscreetly yielded to this feeling, as it is seldom that we find so favourable an opportunity for gratifying it." When they parted, Frederic asked the stranger for his address; who gave it, without having an idea who his new acquaintance really was. The King of Prussia never lost sight of Le Catt; and some years after this incident, the place of his reader being vacant, he wrote to offer it to him. Le Catt accepted it, and thus became fixed in the service of that sovereign.*

The Abbé Bastiani was an Italian priest. When a very young man, he had been kidnapped while performing mass in the village church of which he was curate, on the Italian side of the Tyrol, by a recruiting party of Frederic William's soldiers, towards the end of the reign of that sovereign. He was brought to Berlin, and placed in a regiment as a private soldier. His adventure, however, made a noise; and Frederic, then prince royal, became anxious to see and make acquaintance with him. He was struck

* Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.

with his acuteness; for under a heavy appearance Bastiani concealed all the finesse and quick perception of a true Italian. When Frederic became king he released him from the army; and shortly after his conquest of Silesia made him a canon of the cathedral at Breslau. From this time he was always, to a certain degree, in favour with Frederic; but towards the end of the latter's life this favour had much increased, aided by his constant intrigues and suppleness. He became one of those habitual companions of the king upon whom he was accustomed to vent his sarcasms. Upon one occasion, and one only, the abbé hazarded a spirited answer. Frederic had been attacking him for some time upon various topics; and finally recurring to his favourite subject of pleasantry, the Roman Catholic religion, he prophesied that Bastiani would some day be made pope. "Now," continued he, "as you are now in my power, I should like to know what sort of reception you will give me when I go to Rome. When I appear before your holiness, what will you say to me?" —"Sire," replied the abbé, "I will say, O powerful black eagle, cover me with your wings, but save me from your beak!"*

But the man of the most conversational talent who was now attached to Frederic was another Italian, the Marquis Lucchesini. Lucchesini was a native of the little state of Lucca, and had come to Berlin, actuated by a spirit of enthusiasm for the character of the King of Prussia. Denina says of him, that he had "as much talent as either Algarotti or D'Argens, and not less instruction than the Colonel Quintus, with a knowledge of the great world which the latter never possessed."† Frederic made him his chamberlain; conversed with him more than any one else; communicated his writings to him; and

* Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.

† Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.—La Prusse Littéraire sous Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina..

employed him in various departments of literature. After the death of the King of Prussia, Lucchesini continued in the service of his successors for many years, principally in a diplomatic capacity; and finally retired to Florence, where he died a few years since.

Herzberg had been for many years employed by Frederic as a diplomatist, and a writer of proclamations and state papers. Having displayed considerable talent and acuteness in these services, the king made him one of his principal ministers; and towards the end of his life admitted him much into his intimacy. As Herzberg was also a man of literature he was made curator of the academy, and was accustomed in that capacity to read a dissertation on the anniversary of the king's birthday. The subject of these generally turned upon the circumstances and history of the Prussian dominions, or the improvements which Frederic had wrought in them. The year after the death of Frederic, Count Herzberg consecrated to his memory a well-written paper, read at the academy, and entitled *Mémoire historique sur la dèrnière Année de la Vie de Frederic II.* He subsequently superintended the publication of the posthumous works of his sovereign and benefactor.*

Ziethen and Möllendorf were among the most able of the generals of Frederic, and were always treated by that sovereign with kindness and distinction Ziethen was near ten years older than the king; and on this account Frederic was accustomed at reviews and upon similar occasions of fatigue to show him the most touching attentions; to oblige him to sit down while he himself *stood* and talked with him; and in every way possible to mark his respect for the aged warrior. Möllendorf, who had originally been one of Frederic's pages, and had distinguished

* La Prusse Littéraire sous Frederic II., par l'Abbe Denina.

himself upon various occasions, was made by him governor of Berlin towards the conclusion of his reign; and by his successor was advanced to the rank of field-marshal. He was a man much beloved. It was to him that Frederic said, when disgusted one day at the folly and indiscipline of the young military men of high rank, "For the love of heaven, my dear Möllendorf, deliver me from all these young princes, who spoil my army!"*

Denina had become known to Frederic as the author of the History of the Revolutions of Italy; and the king, in consequence of the merit of that work, engaged him in his service, and sent for him from Turin. He appears to have been a man of labour and instruction, but of moderate abilities. He published subsequently two or three works, upon the subject of the reign of Frederic, the literary men of Prussia, &c.†

In 1780 the King of Prussia appointed M. de Carmer chancellor of his kingdom; and he took this opportunity to consolidate and finally arrange the great system of legal reform which he had been attempting for near forty years. Experience had now demonstrated what parts of the code which he had already given to his people were not calculated to promote their good, and to ensure a prompt and equal administration of justice. These portions were therefore amended, and the work was prosecuted with so much diligence, that in the following year‡ the principal parts of the code were published, and had been put into operation. Frederic addressed to M. de Carmer, with his own hand, a long and well-reasoned statement, in which he developed his views with regard to the laws and the administration of justice. This was published at the head of the new edition of the *Code Frederic*. It

* Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.
† Correspondence de Frederic II. avec D'Alembert.
‡ 1781.

has been already stated in a former part of this work, that the code of laws acted upon in the Prussian dominions is undoubtedly still susceptible of considerable improvements; but, at all events, Frederic accomplished two important points in legislation; namely, he afforded to his people cheap and speedy justice, to a degree which has hardly its parallel in any of the other countries of the civilized world.*

The Empress Maria Theresa did not long survive the peace of Teschen. This eminent woman—for eminent, in spite of her bigotry and prejudices, she undoubtedly was—died November 20th, 1780; and thus left open an ampler field for the restless ambition and activity of Joseph the Second, to which her authority had always been a check. Frederic, however, was on his guard, and before he died again defeated the schemes of the Austrian cabinet.

Joseph's first attempts at aggrandizement were designed to take place at the expense of the United Provinces of Holland. He demanded from them the cession of the town of Maestricht, and the free navigation of the river Escaut. This last demand was occasioned by a plan he had in view for restoring the commerce of Antwerp. The courts of Versailles and Berlin, however, appeared disposed to assist the Dutch, which obliged the restless emperor to turn to other projects. The next which entered his head, and which he continued for some years to contrive in secret, was of a much more extensive nature. Frederic had prevented his obtaining possession by force of Bavaria; but Joseph still thought he might annex it to his dominions by negotiation and exchange. He trusted to the supineness which old age generally causes, in order to keep the King of Prussia ignorant, or at least inactive, in the business; and he intended to carry on his intrigues to a certain

* Mirabeau, Monarchie Prussienne.—Vie de Frederic II.—Grimoard, Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic le Grand

point, and then wait for their development till the death (which could not probably be a distant event) of his old, yet still wily, antagonist. His project was to exchange the Austrian provinces in the Low Countries, with the exception of the county of Namur and duchy of Luxemburgh, against the whole of the electorate of Bavaria.*

The court of Petersburg, which, since the peace of Teschen, had contracted very intimate alliances with the Austrian monarch, favoured the arrangement; and the elector, Charles Theodore, consented to it, lured by the promise of the title of King of Burgundy, with which he was to be decorated. Before, however, the plan was executed, it became necessary to obtain the acquiescence of the Duke of Deux-Ponts, the heir of Charles Theodore. That prince was sounded upon the subject, in the beginning of 1785, by the Russian envoy; but refused his consent, and forthwith communicated the whole arrangement to the King of Prussia. Frederic, though already suffering under those infirmities which, in the following year, conducted him to the tomb, took fire at the news, and lost not a moment in taking steps to counteract the ambitious designs of the imperial family; which he considered, with justice, as an infringement of the stipulations of the treaty of Teschen, and as likely to prove most injurious to the interests of the Germanic body.

By his exertions a confederation was immediately formed among the principal powers of Germany; of which the object was, to preserve the constitution of the empire and the rights of its princes. The electors of Saxony, Hanover, and Mayence concurred readily in the views of Frederic; and the treaty of confederation, which has been known by the name of the *Germanic League*, was signed at

* Grimoard, Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic le Grand.

Berlin on the 21st of July, 1785. The emperor was obliged, in consequence, with feelings of deep vexation, to renounce his ambitious plans; and even to conclude a treaty with Holland, through the mediation of France, by which he renounced his claims upon Maestricht, and his demand for the opening of the navigation of the Escaut. This took place in November, 1785. The Germanic League was the last public act of importance in the life of Frederic, who thus concluded, with honourable and successful negotiation, a career which had commenced with conquest and military glory.

It remains to take a view of the last year of the life of this eminent man; and to trace the maladies which concluded his eventful career. The King of Prussia, at this period, does not appear to have deceived himself with regard to his real situation. Early in the year 1785 he became aware that his health was giving way; but, determined as he was to continue his laborious duties to the end of his life, he carefully concealed the gradual decay which was undermining him from those around him. He was accustomed, therefore, whenever he felt fatigue or lassitude coming upon him, to have recourse to strengthening and stimulating medicines; and in order to hide from curious eyes the wasting appearances of disease on his face, he even went so far, upon public occasions and at reviews, as to wear rouge.* His principal complaint was gout, and the attacks at length became almost perpetual, in consequence of his total neglect of regimen in diet. As he grew older, and consequently less active, his fondness for the pleasures of the table became much increased; and though his enfeebled stomach frequently refused to perform the functions he wished to impose upon it, he continued to the last to eat voraciously of the most unwholesome food. The

* Thiebault, Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin.

Italian dish polenta, eel-pies, and patés de foie gras were among his most habitual dishes.*

In the month of August, 1785, Frederic made a journey, as usual, into Silesia, for the purpose of reviewing his troops. On the 24th of that month he attended their manœuvres during a very heavy rain, which continued for many hours.† He refused to put on a cloak, and returned at length, after the business of the day, to his house, wetted quite to the skin. His health immediately suffered by this imprudent exposure, and he returned to Potsdam feverish and unwell. His accustomed activity prevented him from taking either the repose or the remedies that were necessary for his condition; and on the 18th of September his state was rendered still more precarious by an attack of apoplexy.

From this he was recovered by means of violent remedies; and the restoration of his faculties was marked by the energetic and characteristic words, "Be silent;" which were the first he uttered, and were addressed to those of his attendants who had witnessed the seizure.‡

During the autumn the fever left him, but was succeeded by a hard dry cough; which continued through the winter, and was sufficiently violent to disturb his sleep. As during all this time he refused to submit to the diet or the discipline which his medical attendants advised, he became gradually worse.§ His strength diminished; his legs began to swell; and an almost constant oppression on his chest prevented his lying long in a recumbent posture. He therefore gave up almost entirely going to bed, and was accustomed to pass his days and nights equally in an arm-chair. At the same time, the gout, which usually afflicted him periodically in

* Mirabeau, Histoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin.
† Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand.
‡ Mirabeau, Histoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin.
§ Grimoard, Tableau de la Vie et du Regne de Frederic le Grand

the autumn, but at the same time formed a vent by which nature in his constitution relieved herself, returned no more; and his night perspirations, which, during his whole life, he had always found of the greatest service to his health, entirely disappeared. From the moment that this symptom of decay became manifest, Frederic appears to have thought very ill of his own condition. He was accustomed to answer despondingly, when fresh remedies were suggested to him, "Ah, if my perspiration could but return!"*

During the spring of 1786 nature appears to have made an effort to relieve the suffering monarch. In the month of April he became perceptibly better, so much so that on the 17th of that month he went to Sans Souci; where he took up his abode, never again to leave it. Shortly after this he made several attempts to ride on horseback, thinking that that kind of exercise would be of service to him; but his increasing weakness obliged him to give it up, and to confine himself to a garden-chair, in which he was wheeled about his gardens. Still, however, under all his sufferings, Frederic continued to execute, with extreme punctuality and great mental activity, the duties of his station.†

He was at this time attended by the two principal physicians of his court, Cothenius and Selle, and by the surgeon Frese.‡ But, with a natural wish to conceal the fatal truth from himself, he was dissatisfied with them, for hinting their opinion that his disease was a dropsy; and Selle and Frese, indeed, suffered a temporary disgrace in consequence. He therefore became anxious to see some other physicians, and he sent for Dr. Zimmermann§ of Hanover

* Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.

† Grimoard, Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic le Grand.

‡ Essai sur la Vie et le Regne de Frederic II., par l'Abbé Denina.

§ John George Zimmermann, a physician and author of considerable reputation, was born at Brugg, in Switzerland, in 1728, and died at

whom he had seen some years before, and with whose conversation he had been pleased. The letter he wrote to Zimmermann was as follows:—

"Dr. Zimmermann,—I have been for the last eight months suffering severely from asthma. The physicians of this country give me all sorts of drugs, but which, instead of doing me good, rather make me worse. The reputation of your skill, which is spread through the north of Europe, makes me wish that you would pay me a fortnight's visit, in order that I may consult you respecting the state of my health. You of course understand that I shall pay for your journey, as well as all other expenses. If therefore you consent to my proposal, I will send a letter to the Duke of York, who I am sure will readily give you permission to come here. I pray God to take you under his holy and sacred protection! "FREDERIC.*

"Potsdam, 6th June, 1786."

CHAPTER IV.

Zimmermann's Account of the State of the King of Prussia—His Conversations with him—Zimmermann leaves him Frederic's Letter to the Duchess of Brunswick—Mirabeau's Account of the last Days of Frederic, and of his Death—Herzberg's Testimony respecting his Patience and Laboriousness during his Illness—Religious Letter addressed to Frederic—Frederic's Will and Funeral—Mirabeau's Character of him.

ZIMMERMANN arrived at Potsdam on the 23d of June, and continued there till the 12th of July, paying the king two visits daily. In his first interview

Hanover in 1795. He published many works, as well on medical as on other subjects; but is now chiefly known by his very popular book, entitled "*Essays on Solitude*," which has been translated into various languages.

* Vie de Frederic II.—Entretiens de Frederic Roi de Prusse avec le Dr. Zimmermann.

with Frederic, the latter asked him, "Doctor, can you cure me?"—"I can relieve your majesty," was the prudent reply of the physician. Even this last promise was difficult, however, to be accomplished, for Frederic frequently refused to take the doctor's prescriptions, while he was, at the same time, more unruly than ever respecting his diet. In his conversations also with Zimmermann, which have been published, he dwelt much more upon literature and indifferent subjects than upon the symptoms and remedies of his own immediate complaints, which he would hardly allow the doctor to touch upon.

Zimmermann thus describes the appearance of the king in his first interview with him at Sans Souci:—"When I entered the apartment of the king, I found him sitting in an elbow-chair, with his back turned towards that side of the room by which I had entered. He had on his head a large hat very much worn, ornamented with a plume of feathers, equally ancient; and his dress consisted of a cloak of sky-blue satin, all bedaubed and tinged of a brownish yellow colour before with Spanish snuff. He wore boots, and rested one of his legs, which was very much swelled, upon a stool, while the other hung down to the floor. When he perceived me, he pulled off his hat in a very civil and condescending manner, and in a mild tone of voice said, 'I return you many thanks, sir, for your kindness in coming hither, and for the speed with which you have performed your journey.'"*

Zimmermann proceeded to examine the king with regard to the nature of his complaints. When he looked at his legs, which were much swelled, as well as the lower part of his body, Frederic observed, "My legs are much swelled, you see; but I am asthmatic, and not dropsical." To this Zimmermann made an evasive answer. He then felt his

* Entretiens de Frederic Roi le Prusse avec le Docteur Zimmermann

pulse, which he says was full and strong, and indicated a considerable degree of fever. He was also much oppressed in his breathing, and coughed almost without remission. After a little further conversation, in which Frederic praised the Duke of York, who was then residing at Hanover, and said, "I love him as tenderly as a father can love a son,"* Zimmermann retired. Before prescribing for his august patient, he wished to read attentively the written reports of his majesty's malady, drawn up by his physician Selle; and also to hear the vivâ voce accounts of his state from his favourite servant and hussar Schœning,† who was in constant attendance upon him. Frederic desired Zimmermann, when he parted from him, to return the next day at three o'clock.

When the physician had conversed with Schœning, and seen his correspondence with Selle, who, though in disgrace, still received and returned medical communications on the state of the king's health, through the hussar (and according to the opinion of Zimmermann had treated his case throughout very ably), he no longer felt the slightest doubt that the king was in a confirmed dropsy. "His face," adds Zimmermann, "was not only emaciated and thin, but appeared of that pale yellow colour which always indicates a depravation of the fluids and solids, and which, in the like cases, is always a very unfavourable symptom. His hands were also discoloured and dry; his belly was greatly swelled; and his legs were not only in the same condition, as much as legs could be, but the swelling, as I have already said, extended even to the thighs. I also learned," continues the doctor, "that the king had not taken

* The Duke of York had paid a visit to Frederic during the preceding year, and had been present at the great reviews of the troops at Potsdam in August, 1785.

† Schœning, according to Zimmermann, was a shrewd and sensible man and much devoted to his master.

the remedies prescribed for him, though the best that could be administered, and the most suitable to his disorder, above once or twice; and that he was a sworn enemy to medicines of every kind, except to a digestive powder, composed of rhubarb, Glauber salts, and a few other trifling ingredients, in which alone he had any faith. I learned, too, that no idea could be formed of the excess which the king allowed himself in his food; that his cooks were obliged to season all his dishes in such a manner as was enough to destroy his stomach; that those which were most difficult of digestion were his greatest favourites; that he was passionately fond of Prussian pease, which are undoubtedly the hardest in the world; that this regimen was the cause of those complaints and vomitings which often came upon him after dinner, and of those fits of colic that attacked him several times every week; and that nobody durst venture to remonstrate with him on this subject."*

Zimmermann's hope of being of service to the King of Prussia was now much diminished; but it became still more so on the following day, on which, just as he was sitting down to dinner, he was sent for in all haste to come to the king. When he arrived he found Frederic coughing violently. He could not speak, and at every fit of coughing the blood flowed profusely from his mouth; and his respiration was so oppressed that Zimmermann expected every moment to be his last. He could not breathe in his chair, but was obliged to stand up, which had so exhausted him that his head hung down and rested on his breast. At length he sat down, and immediately fell asleep; but was soon waked by fresh fits of coughing, which caused a renewed expectoration of blood. This distressing scene lasted half an hour, when a slight cessation

* Entretiens de Frederic Roi de Prusse avec le Docteur Zimmermann

of the coughing and oppression taking place, Frederic asked the doctor what he could do for him. Frederic, as usual, objected to the remedies proposed, but finally submitted to them; and Zimmermann took this opportunity to request he might be allowed to consult with the king's disgraced physician Selle, whose treatment of his complaints he also eulogized. But Frederic refused to permit this, at the same time darting so terrible and angry a look at his physician that he could no longer venture to urge so unpalatable a subject to him. After this his spasms of coughing returned, together with a violent colic; and when, from exhaustion, he at intervals dropped asleep, the convulsive motions of his face showed the difficulty he had in breathing.*

After four hours passed in this painful manner the king became better, and Zimmermann was dismissed. It is worthy of remark, as a proof of the anxiety of Frederic to perform his duties as king in spite of bodily infirmities and sickness, that Zimmermann mentions that in one of the short intervals of his paroxysms of coughing, the king drew towards him a very large packet of letters, which had been laid on the table near him for his signature, and, with a trembling hand, signed them, one after the other. When this task was completed, he sank back in his chair, in a state of entire exhaustion.

The next day Frederic was much better; and, in consequence, had a long conversation with his physician on literary subjects; hardly allowing him to say a word on medicine. It was on this occasion that Frederic said, "Locke and Newton were, of all men, the deepest thinkers; but the French understand much better than the English the manner of expressing things well." He then praised the historians Hume and Robertson: and Zimmermann having mentioned Gibbon, the king made him give

* Entretiens de Frederic Roi de Prusse avec le Docteur Zimmermann.

him an account of his Roman History, which he had not seen. The next day Zimmermann arranged with the king the medicines which he was to take. The principal of these was the juice of the *taraxacum*, or dandelion. When Frederic had heard the doctor's plan of medical treatment, he said again, "You intend, then, to cure me?"—And Zimmermann again replied, "I intend to relieve your majesty, if you will have patience, and allow me the necessary time. A patient relieved is half cured."

The following days were principally occupied in discussions with the king respecting the taraxacum, the virtues of which he contested in order to avoid the taking of it. At length he took a dose of it; and, as it so happened that he was particularly well that day, he was much pleased with the medicine, and in peculiarly good-humour. He conversed with Zimmermann respecting the Empress Catherine of Russia, with whom the doctor corresponded; and inquired respecting her health, which he affirmed to be bad, though Zimmermann assured him of the contrary, and that she had latterly written him word that "*her health only cost her fifteen pence a year.*" At the conclusion of this conversation Frederic said, "I allow that the Empress of Russia is a woman of extraordinary genius."

For a few days the taraxacum afforded relief to the king, though he took it irregularly and in too small quantities, and continued to indulge himself in unwholesome dishes. As he became better his appetite increased; and at length, on the 30th of June, he ate the following dinner:—a large quantity of soup, composed of strong and extremely hot ingredients, to which he had added a variety of spices; then he ate heartily of bouilli à la Russe (beef dressed with wine and spirits); then of the Italian dish polenta, composed of the flour of Turkey wheat and Parmesan cheese, seasoned with garlic and hot spices, the whole fried in butter till a very thick and

heavy crust is formed upon it. He concluded his dinner with a large plate of eel-pie, which was so hot that, as a person who was at table with him expressed it, "it looked as if it had been baked in hell."

The effects of this dinner were spasms and vomitings. When Zimmermann came to him he found him suffering under these inflictions, while his countenance bore marks of the deepest dejection and sadness. His first words were, "Doctor, I am an old carcass, fit only to be thrown to the dogs."* The physician endeavoured to raise the king's spirits, but in vain; though he seemed grateful for his kindness. The following day (July the 1st), Frederic was rather better, though still dejected. He said to Zimmermann, "A few days of happiness have passed away very quickly." Zimmermann took the opportunity of remarking upon the king's diet, but the latter turned off the conversation by alluding to other matters. The few following days the king was in better health, and held long and confidential conversations with his physician.

On the 4th of July, when the doctor saw the king in the afternoon, all had again changed for the worse. He had applied himself to public business from half-past three in the morning till seven. He then ate for his breakfast a plate of sweetmeats, composed of sugar, white of eggs, and sour cream; then strawberries, cherries, and cold meat. At eleven he was helped with much difficulty on horseback; and remained riding, and frequently galloping, about the gardens of Sans Souci for three hours, when he returned home much weakened and exhausted. At dinner he had no appetite, and immediately after dinner he was seized with vomiting When Zimmermann came to him he was so oppressed he could not talk to him; but sent him

* "Je ne suis qu'une vieille carcasse propre a jetter à la voirie."

away, saying, "Forgive me, sir; I really cannot speak." On the 5th of July he was again better; but on the 6th he had a violent colic and indigestion, in consequence of having eaten immoderately of fresh eels. He, however, attributed his illness to the taraxacum, and began to be in very bad-humour with the remedy, and also with the physician by whom it was administered. Zimmermann was therefore obliged to direct his mind to other subjects.

On the 7th and 8th he continued in much the same state; but on the latter day the physician ventured to tell him, "Your majesty's most dangerous enemies are your cooks." To this Frederic replied, "You cannot form any idea of my temperance. I only taste my food, and eat merely for the sake of acquiring strength." He then, in order to avoid further remarks of the same kind, began asking questions respecting Hanover. In the course of the conversation Zimmermann, alluding to the Germanic League, took an opportunity of saying, "By that pacific league your majesty crowned all your other noble exploits."—"Germany," answered the king, modestly, "is a kind of republic: it was in danger of losing its republican form; and it was with the sincerest pleasure that I saw it re-established." On the 9th of July Frederic was worse after dinner, in consequence of having eaten to excess of fresh herrings, and other still more unwholesome dishes. In spite of this he held a long conversation with Zimmermann, upon political as well as other subjects. Before he left him for the evening, Frederic said to him, "You must see how wretchedly I walk." The hussar in waiting was then called; and the king, supported by him, walked slowly and with great difficulty through three rooms. His respiration during this exertion was much impeded; and after it was concluded his exhaustion was excessive.

On the 10th of July Zimmermann took leave of the

king, and set off on his journey back to Hanover On this day Frederic was visited by an attack of hemorrhoids, which had been prognosticated by the physician, and which, as it afforded temporary relief to the patient, had put him in peculiarly good-humour. In taking leave of Zimmermann the king said, "I ask pardon of your patients for having deprived them of your assistance; and I thank you for your kindness in staying so long with me. I wish you may be always happy." He then gave him a letter for the Duke of York, adding an affectionate message; and then dismissed him with great kindness, taking off his hat and bowing, and saying, "Adieu, my good, my dear Mr. Zimmermann; do not forget the old man you have seen here." Zimmermann retired much affected; leaving the king, as he says, "not only in a dangerous, but in a desperate condition. With a confirmed dropsy, to all appearance an abscess in the lungs, and such a prostration of strength that he could neither stand nor move without support."*

In returning to Hanover Zimmermann saw the King of Prussia's sister, the Duchess of Brunswick; and it would appear probable, that not wishing to alarm her respecting the state of her brother, he gave her a more favourable account of his health than was warranted by the fact. The duchess, in consequence, wrote in terms of hope and confidence to the king, who replied thus, only six days before his death:—

"10th August, 1786

"My adorable Sister,

"The physician of Hanover must have wished to give you a favourable opinion of his skill; but the truth is that he was of no use to me. The old must give place to the young, in order that each generation may find a place for itself. Indeed, life itself is little

* Entretiens de Frederic Roi de Prusse avec le Docteur Zimmermann.

else than the witnessing the births and deaths of one's countrymen. In the mean while I find myself a little easier for the last few days. My heart is always inviolably attached to you, my dear sister. With the highest esteem, believe me ever, my adorable sister,

"Your faithful brother and servant,

"FREDERIC."*

From the time of the departure of Dr. Zimmermann the malady of Frederic hastened rapidly to its close, and the king became still more unruly both as to medicine and diet. When offered the former he used to reject it, and say, "This is all useless; it must come to an end." On the 12th of July Mirabeau, who was then employed diplomatically at Berlin by the French government, writes, "The king is very ill, but not yet dying. All is still kept in awe by him: he continues king, and will be so to the end." On the 14th he writes again, "Zimmermann has not been able to obtain any victory over the polenta and the eel-pies. He is all over œdematous swellings." Again, on the 21st, "The dropsy is in the stomach, and even in the chest: the king knows it since Thursday. Some say he received the news with great magnanimity; others that he ill-treated the too sincere physician. He might draw on for some time, and even, as Doctor Baylies thinks, for more than a year, if he would take care of himself; but I doubt his ever giving up eel-pies." On the 27th he says, "The fine weather keeps the king alive; but he is very ill. On Wednesday he was wheeled about for a few minutes in the open air in his chair, but he could not bear it, and suffered much, both while it was going on and afterward. On Thursday he was still worse, and yesterday no better." On the 31st, "The king is decidedly worse; he has had a fever

* Vie de Frederic II.

upon him for the last two days: this may either kill him or somewhat prolong his days. Nature has always done so much for this extraordinary man that another attack of hemorrhoids may perhaps come and revive him. His muscular force is still considerable."

On the 2d of August his account is still more detailed:—"The king is sensibly better, as far as suffering goes, when he does not move. He has given up the use of the taraxacum, and only takes doses of rhubarb. His appetite is very good, and he preserves no moderation at all upon the subject of eating. The most unwholesome things are what he is fondest of. If an indigestion occurs, as frequently is the case, he doubles his dose of rhubarb. He is very chilly, and is always enveloped in pelisses, and covered with feather beds. He has not been in bed for six weeks, but sleeps in his chair for a considerable time together, and always turned to the right side. The swelling augments. He sees it, but will not perceive what it is, or at least will not appear to do so; but talks as if it were a swelling accompanying convalescence, and proceeding from previous weakness. He is determined not to die, if violent remedies can save him, but to submit to punctures and incisions to draw off the water; but these the physician cannot venture upon. Meanwhile his head is perfectly free, and he does a great deal of business."

On the 8th of August the account is again very bad:—"The king is extraordinarily ill: some say he has only some hours to live, but this is probably an exaggeration. On the 4th erysipelas appeared on the leg: this announces bursting and mortification. He has much oppression; and the smell of the wound is very bad: the least attack of fever would conclude the drama." The 12th, Frederic was again better; the bursting of the legs, and the consequent discharge of water, having diminished the swelling and oppression; "but the weakness was excessive, and the

appetite dangerously voracious." On the 15th the discharge of water and the relief from it continued; "but fever comes on in the evening. At the same time the appetite continues so extraordinary that the king eats every day of ten or twelve dishes at dinner, each very highly seasoned; besides at breakfast and supper bread and butter covered with salted tongue and pepper. We are at the last scene."*

On that day (the 15th) he had slept, contrary to his invariable habit, till eleven o'clock; but when he awoke, in spite of his excessive weakness, he had gone through his accustomed labour of answering letters, &c. with his secretaries; and he had done this, not only without any want of attention, but even with a precision and readiness of mind which would have been remarkable even in a sovereign in the enjoyment of good health. He also signed the letters he had dictated; though, his hand and his sight both failing him, his signature was hardly more than a blot of ink. After this, however, and after having given the word to the garrison, Frederic fell into a sort of lethargy, in which he continued till the next day, when Frederic William, being apprized of his situation, sent the physician Selle to visit him. Selle arrived in the chamber of the king at three in the afternoon, and found this extraordinary man still so much alive to surrounding objects, that not having been sent for by him, he did not dare to make his presence known to him. His eyes were still bright, and his perceptions still, to a certain degree, remained to him; but his memory failed him; and for the first time since he began to reign he did not remember that he had not gone through the accustomed labours of the day. The mortification which had commenced in his legs, and the total prostration of strength, also convinced the physician that a few hours would conclude the king's life.

* Mirabeau, Histoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin

At length, on the 17th of August, Mirabeau begins his letter with these remarkable words:—"The great event is consummated. Frederic William reigns. One of the greatest characters that ever occupied a throne is no more; and one of the most perfect moulds which nature ever formed or organized is broken."* Frederic the Second expired on the 17th of August, 1786, at twenty minutes past two in the morning; being in the seventy-fifth year of his age and the forty-sixth of his reign.

An eyewitness of the illness and death of this great monarch bears testimony to his indefatigable activity and application in governing the affairs of his kingdom during the last seven months of his life; notwithstanding the painful and mortal malady with which he was afflicted during the whole of that time. Nor was he less attentive during the same period to foreign affairs and negotiations which regarded Europe in general or Prussia in particular. In spite of his incurable condition, he never ceased to give to them all the greatest attention and the most continual application; to read all the despatches of his ministers at foreign courts and to dictate the answers to them and to his other letters, which occupied him every morning from four till seven o'clock: he also kept up a regular correspondence with the various departments of foreign administration. It was thus that he continued to labour during seven months of the year 1786, to confirm his last great work, *the Germanic League;* to interfere with effect in the troubles of Holland; and to support his rights and those of his subjects against the reclamations of the city of Dantzic. He kept up an equally constant, and indeed daily, correspondence with the ministers of the departments of justice and finance; while at the same time he directed by himself, and without the assistance of any minister or general, all his military cor-

* Mirabeau, Histoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin.

respondence, dictating his orders to his secretaries and aids-de-camp. A few days even before his death he explained to the latter all the manœuvres which were to be executed at the reviews in Silesia, prescribing to them with great minuteness the exact localities they were to occupy. At the same period he sent for General d'Anhalt to Potsdam, in order to explain to him some extensive military arrangements relative to the raising of some free battalions, in order to render the movements of the army more easy in case of war.

He also saw the ministers of state Hoym and Werder, and the privy counsellor Schütz, to concert with them new plans for bringing lands into cultivation, and for instituting and improving manufactures; all of which he wished to have executed in the different provinces in the year 1787. But that which he was the most anxious about was to build, at his own expense, new villages in those districts where the farms were too large, and where there were too few inhabitants. Above all, he took a singular pleasure in executing a design he had formed of having 300 sheep brought from Spain, to improve the breed in his dominions. As these sheep were expected to pass through Potsdam a few days before his death, he waited for them with much impatience, intending to have some of them sent to Sans Souci, *to pay him a visit*, as he expressed it.*

"I mention these circumstances," continues the Count de Herzberg, from whom the above particulars are taken, "although they may seem minute and trivial, because they show in its true and most favourable light the benevolence of his character, and how entirely it was occupied with objects of public utility. I can depose to all that I have related with the greater security and accuracy, because I passed the last five weeks of Frederic's life with him at Sans

* Mémoire historique sur la dernière Année de la Vie de Frederic II., par le Comte de Hertzberg.

Souci, from the 9th of July, on which day he sent for me, till the 17th of August, on which he died. I call to witness the Counts de Schwerin, Goertz, Lucchesini, and Pinto, who saw him with me for three or four hours each day, whether (although swelled and affected all over with dropsy to that degree that he could not move himself without assistance in his chair, in which he remained night and day, without being able to bear lying on a bed, and though it was evident that he suffered cruelly), he ever allowed us to perceive the least sign or sense of pain, the manifestation of which could be disagreeable to us; but whether, on the other hand, he did not always preserve a serene, contented, and tranquil air, and without ever alluding to his condition; whether he did not always converse with us in the most agreeable and cordial manner on the news of the day, on literature, on ancient and modern history, and particularly on farming and gardens, which he was always very anxious about."*

The patience of Frederic during sickness, and especially during his last malady, is attested by various anecdotes. His kindness to his servants during his own sufferings was also very remarkable. He addressed them in the mildest manner, and was always so afraid of giving them trouble, that frequently during the night he forbore to ask for what he wanted, rather than disturb their rest.†

The King of Prussia's daily life continued to the end to be as follows:—Having, during the evenings and mornings, read the despatches of his ambassadors at foreign courts, and the reports of his generals and ministers, he saw, either at four or five in the morning, according to the quantity of business he had to transact, his three cabinet secretaries, one after the other; and dictated to the one the answers

* Mémoire historique sur la dernière Année de la Vie de Frederic II., par le Comte de Herzberg.—Eloge du Roi de Prusse, par M. de Guibert

† Mirabeau, Histoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin.—Vie de Frederic II

to be written to the ambassadors, and to the two others those to the ministers and the generals, on military, financial, or judicial subjects, as well as answers to an infinite number of letters and petitions from individuals; and this with such precision and exactness, especially in the more complicated despatches, that the secretaries had only to add the addresses and the dates. After having finished this labour at seven or eight o'clock, he gave audience to the commandant of Potsdam, General Rohdich, and after him to his aids-de-camp, to whom he gave, by word of mouth, the orders to the garrison for the day. It was only after having thus performed his duties as king that he saw for a few minutes his surgeon, and sometimes his physician, in order to consult as to what was necessary to be done for his malady. About eleven, the society before mentioned came to him, and remained with him till twelve when he dined alone. After dinner he signed all the despatches and letters which he had dictated in the morning. He then again received his society at five o'clock, and conversed with them till eight, when they took leave of him for the evening. He passed the rest of the evening in having select passages from the ancient authors, such as Cicero, Plutarch, &c., read to him by his reader. He then perused his newly-arrived despatches, or took the short intervals of sleep which his sufferings permitted him. This course of life was continued till the 15th of August, on which day even he dictated and signed despatches, so well reasoned that they would have done credit to the ablest diplomatists. He did not cease to perform the great functions of a king and minister of state till August the 16th, on which day he became insensible, and during the night of which he ceased to live;* "exhaling his great soul," to use

* The celebrated governor of Moscow, Count Rostopchine, informed the author that he was at Potsdam when Frederic the Great died; and that it was said there that the king really died about midnight, but that his attendants, afraid of approaching or disturbing him, did not *ascertain*

the very words of M. de Herzberg, "without any convulsive movement, in my presence, and in that of the physician M. Selle."*

The most painful circumstance in the last stage of the life of Frederic the Great was the absence of those religious feelings which alone can cheer the death-bed alike of the great and of the lowly. Zimmermann says he died in a continued disbelief of revelation, and even of the immortality of the soul; and there is, unfortunately, no reason to doubt the accuracy of the physician's statement. A few days before his death he received the following letter:—

"Sire,

"Filled as I am with respect and reverence for the Supreme Being, I cannot forbear from recalling, in all humility, to your majesty's mind, what is the greatest and most precious of all treasures, and that which alone can render you happy. That treasure is the faith which comes from the grace of God. The wisest of men cannot give it to himself: God alone can. But the great understanding of your majesty will at once perceive that this important advantage, which alone can lead to eternal life, must be asked of God in prayer, joined with a right course of life, and a due meditation of the Scriptures. The certainty of obtaining this, God, the father of all mercies, will undoubtedly give to your majesty, if you will acknowledge the mediation of his blessed Son Jesus Christ,—that mediation of love and charity; and if you will adopt the sentiments which it inspires, and desire sincerely to have the Holy Spirit for your guide. Eternal happiness is worthy of

his death till much later. Count Rostopchine was taken in the morning, by one of the attendants of Frederic, to see the dead sovereign. He was still in his arm-chair, and the expression of his face was remarkably calm and placid, though much extenuated by disease. One corner of his mouth was drawn down, which the count attributed to the taking the mask off his face in order to preserve a likeness of him, which was done immediately after his death.

* Mémoire historique sur la dernière Année de la Vie de Frederic II., par le Comte de Herzberg.

being thought of. It is obtained by the grace of God for those who humble themselves before him. If, says Jesus, ye are not converted, and do not become like little children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. The change may be difficult for your majesty; but with God every thing is possible, and may his blessed Son have pity upon you! I am, with the most profound respect, and the most Christian charity, &c. &c.

"The simple and faithful Christian,

"O. F."

To this appeal Frederic's only remark was, "Let this be answered civilly; the intention of the writer is good."*

One of the first acts of the new King of Prussia was to confirm the legacies of Frederic's will. This document was dated in 1769; and was written, says Mirabeau, "in a lofty and oratorical tone; the testator, at the same time, peculiarly specifying that his legacies were all made upon his private savings."† He left various sums and annuities to the different members of his family, the largest of which was the one bequeathed to Prince Henry. Rings, snuff-boxes, and sets of horses to some other German princes, among whom was the Duke of Brunswick; and the service of plate he always used to his sister Amelia. The only clause of his will which was not executed was the one where he directed himself to be buried near his dogs in the gardens of Sans Souci,—a last mark of his contempt for his own species, which had undoubtedly better been omitted. He was buried in a small chapel, in the church of the garrison at Potsdam; where, side by side repose Frederic and his father; the former in a a coffin of block-tin, the latter in one of copper, and equally without ornament of any kind. After the funeral of Frederic, his sword, which had won so

* Entretiens de Frederic Roi de Prusse avec le Docteur Zimmermann.
† Mirabeau, Histoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin.

many battles, was placed on his coffin, where it remained till Napoleon came as a conqueror to Potsdam: he carried it away, and it was subsequently lost on his departure for Elba. One hero should not surely thus have violated so interesting a relic of another.

The funeral of Frederic took place on the 9th of September, and is described by Mirabeau as having been an imposing spectacle. As, however, royal obsequies resemble one another so much, the circumstances of it are hardly worth detailing.*

To attempt a laboured character of Frederic would be here a superfluous task. His talents, his literary attainments, his military prowess, his civil administration, the benefits he conferred on his territories, his errors, and his faults, are all detailed in the preceding pages; and if the relations connected with these various parts of his character and history are well considered by those who read, the instruction and the moral they offer will be sufficiently obvious without further comment. But though the author is unwilling to trespass longer upon the patience which those who have read his work thus far have already bestowed on him, he thinks the following energetic panegyric, stamped as it is with the most vigorous style of the writer, may not be deemed a tribute either unworthy or unfitting wherewith to conclude the annals of the deeds of the King of Prussia.

"Such was Frederic, for ever illustrious among the children of men! Nature seemed to reserve for him the extraordinary glory, that, born upon the throne, he was also in character the first of his nation and of his age. Equally remarkable for the boldness of his conceptions, the sagacity of his understanding, the energy of his prudence, and the firmness of his character, we are at a loss which to ad-

* Mirabeau, Histoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin

mire the most, his varied talents, his profound judgment, or his great mind. Brilliant as he was, both from his physical and moral qualities, strong as his own will, beautiful as his genius, active even to a prodigy, he perfected and completed all these advantages, and became not less eminently the work of his own exertions than that of nature. Born yielding, he rendered himself rigid. Absolute with the most terrible impatience, he became tolerant and patient even to forbearance. Hasty, ardent, impetuous, he made himself moderate, calm, reflecting. His destiny was such, that events turned to his advantage frequently by his own good conduct, but sometimes also in spite of his faults; while every thing in him, even the tribute of errors which he paid to the weakness of human nature, bore the impress of his greatness, his originality, and his invincible character. Never was mortal man so completely constituted for command as he. He seemed to believe himself the universal soul of the world, and that the rest of mankind had only a sentient perception, a sort of animal instinct, more or less ingenious. He therefore contemned them, and yet he laboured unceasingly, according to his opinions and knowledge, to promote their happiness. Thus the extreme justness of his understanding did more to render him equitable and benevolent than is ever done by the doubtful feelings of kindness which are engendered by sensitive hearts. He knew but one passion—glory; and yet he was the enemy of flattery: but one taste—himself; and yet his whole life was spent in serving others: but one occupation—and that was his noble profession as king. He performed the duties of this, with the most inimitable perseverance, for forty-six years without interruption, till the day which preceded his resigned and simple death;—after eighteen months of pain and suffering, which had never drawn from him a single complaint."*

* Mirabeau, De la Monarchie Prussienne

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